in Madrid

SWIMMING: June Walker at

the World Championships

A MYSTIFIED Adrian Moorhouse was stripped of a gold medal at the world championships in Madrid on Sunday as he was disqualified after winning the 100 metres breasistroke final.

The Bradford swimmer, European and Commonwealth Games gold medalist, beat his arch-rival and then learned minutes later that he had been "struck off" en Moorhouse has been disqualiied for a butterfly kick on the gave the team who narrowly out-

European record of 1min 2.28sec in the morning heats went even better in the final with 1:02.01. which would have been a world

never been disqualified in the ship. this morning. Why didn't they disqualify me then?" he asked.

"I feel as though I'm the world champion. It wasn't even a close race." Davis was awarded the gold as Moorhouse, British team captain, said his country's officials IF all else fails, you can always try unmatched since the D'Oliveira gets dropped. were appealing against the deci- the obvious; and so on Sunday the affair. Gooch's refusal to go to Having muddled along with five sion. But as the medals ceremony England selectors announced that Australia this winter is a huge specialist batsmen all summer,

Moorhouse pulled away superbly down the return length and contained the desperate challenge of Davis, who accelerated his stroke but still finished 0.7 of a second down on the Briton.

But silver turned to gold for the 22-year-old Canadian physical education student as Minervini moved up to second and Volkov, the European 200 metres gold medalist, slipped in for the Zealand and put English cricket bronze. The Soviet swimmer said back on course for Australia. Obvi-

women's 4x200 metres freestyle ience we could get." relay, the East Germans set a Decoded, this appears to mean Thomas is far more likely to make attacking role so he is left to stow world record as they became the that there are still enough doubts Australia than the other two. But at slip until about mid-afternoon. when they clocked 7:59.33.

between Michael Gross of West though if he were to succeed this before the winter, and the obvious record in his first over. But it Germany and the young American week and then be left out, there place for this was the bouncy seems a bit much to expect any freestyle final ended in victory for Gross with Biondi pushed into third place by East Germany's Sven Lodziewski. Gross's time of 1:47.92 was less than half a second outside his own world record.

#### OBITUARY

the Military Cross.

# Ryan Price

trainer on five occasions, winning was given the captaincy. the Grand National, Cheltenham Gold Cup, Champion Hurdle (three England in the first 48 years of times) and the Schweppes Gold cricket between the countries, Trophy (four times). He was just as have now won four times since • In the other Natwest semi-final successful when going over to 1978, which was when Richard training on the flat, his two Hadlee first emerged as a top-class biggest successes being in the Oaks and St Leger.

Hadlee, who has played a sig-His father, George Price, had been a celebrated trainer of hunters and show horses before the war. Under his father's tuition 140 in two innings. Ryan Price became an expert and quite fearless point-to-point rider. In the Commandos he was equal-

for England — apart from a ly fearless, achieving distinction in determined 75 from John Emburey the Normandy campaign, winning as the batting collapsed again.

discarded cans of lager, kicked and run all the way to Turin.

trodden on at will. To this metallic

But it was Everton who raised ring, England's top-rank heavy-weights clanked back into action

quick thinking by the alert Heath, at last freed from the bench. As good behaviour — like charity — F had to be seen to start at home. Hansen and Lawrenson watched Sharp, Heath took the ball off his Merseyside, transported to London striking partner, ran round the again, duly obliged, responding surprised defenders, and delivered al that satisfied the partisan bulk of the 88,000 crowd. We even saw a striking partner. result a clinical low shot hand of Liverpool's keeper, Hooper. a clinical low shot past the right hand of Liverpool's substitute goal-

Hooper, the first replacement for Events on the pitch probably Grobbelaar in five years, should have been beaten again when six first-team regulars, Howard another newcomer, the former Kendall's unfamiliar looking side Wigan midfielder, Langley, took Heath's through ball and curled a ran them for the Double a firm shot outside the far post instead of reminder of the squad strength passing to the infuriated Wilbeing built on the other side of kinson, who had also broken yards Stanley Park. Few neutrals, on clear of a defence caught badly

the lean frame of Rush, their

AFTER the punishment meted out to Dutch property on land and sea recently, it was a relief to find that the only damage done along Wembley Way on Saturday was to discarded cans of lagar kicked and sea minute deprived them of success. How Kendall must wish the Italian authorities had allowed Liverpool to take the lira and let Rush Everton's captain. A few words sufficed

The only injury of note was the tempo further by scoring first. sustained by Grobbelaar, who The goal stemmed from suitably went off 10 minutes after the muscle. The goalkeeper was immediately ruled out of Liverpool's may miss the Double winners' first defence of the Championship at Newcastle. Hooper, a novice in League football but a 22-year-old well-versed in Shakespeare as a former university student, is set to maintain the Liverpool tradition of

fielding interesting goalkeepers.

Everton: Munma: Harper, Power, Ratchite, Mer-

this evidence, would argue, Line-square.

MEW ZEALAND have recalled ten described by Rush's of the players who went on the insertion as the bookmakers' sec- close-range equaliser, ensuring a rebel Cavaliers tour to South Later, Moorhouse said he had ond favourites for the Champion- joint lap of honour and a share of Africa for this week's Test against the shield. The referee, Neil Midg- Australia. Their recall, after only But Everton are still hounded by ley, looked pleased with his contri- a one-match suspension is certain bution, although some would to be condemned by the anti-Wembley executioner in May. This consider him lenient after a apartheid lobby.

**CRICKET: Matthew Engel** Botham and Lamb restored

land at The Oval last Thursday.

in the Charity Shield.

passable Mexican Wave.

pleased Everton more. Stripped of

On this day of good intentions,

This event is going to be wildly welcomed, and will inevitably be seen by some in romantic terms. Here is Charles II returning to Whitehall amid bells and bonfires, with Gatting in the role of General Monck. Hurrah for toleration and dancing round the Maypole.

"This is purely a one-off side," May said. "We have to beat New afterwards: "I'm very disappointed ously, there is a huge question mark about Botham's bowling but In the championship's first ever we felt we needed all the exper-

The much-awaited confrontation than a certainty to tour Australia,

their ways. There's no consola- days earlier, would be restored to pected though it was. Gooch's wife omission of a mainstream spinner the Test team against New Zea- has recently had twins and he was with Willey at No. 7. I think for the 41/2 months tour.

devotees can toast the return of the batsman instead of Thomas at this all-rounder over the water. In the desperate stage rather escapes me. retinue are Lamb, back after three Tests, which in the context of his recent form was quite obviously two too many, Gooch, who rightly keeps his place despite his refuse to tour, Dilley, who missed Trent Bridge through injury, and Willey who was 12th man there.

Thomas, Pringle and Moxon have all been dropped, and Athey will be Gooch's fifth opening part-

unwilling to be away from them Willey is an exceptionally good cricketer and a must for Australia. But for the moment anyway, his but the logic of playing an extra

Botham is in any case unlikely to get the new ball with Dilley and Small in the side. But if the selectors are so worried about his bowling, it seems odd to bring him back to the path of what, if either Emburey or Edmonds is 12th man, will be a four-man attack with two bit players in Willey and Gooch.

I am convinced the best way to about Botham's approach and pli- throughout the summer, there has By that time he should be just ability to make him very much less been a vague idea that Dilley and furious enough to get the two would be a hooha on a scale wicket at The Oval. So Thomas kind of subtlety at the moment.

# Kiwis add to English humiliation

last week when they lost the second test against New Zealand by eight wickets. Their last chance to recapture

some honour and save the series is at The Oval. THE noted National Hunt trainer This was England's eighth de-Ryan Price died on Sunday, aged feat in 10 games this year and the 74. He was leading National Hunt second in four since Mike Gatting

New Zealand, who failed to beat

nificant role in all four wins, was Man of the Match on his adopted home ground after taking 10 for

The one piece of encouragement Clive Lioyd led Lancashire to

with 65 out of 229 all out but he innings together with a brilliant

He looked to have won the game win and their last man in. Jesty, who won the man of the match award, was caught on the bound-

Sussex easily beat Worcestershire by five wickets in a disappointing game ruined by prolonged rain Worcestershire, despite home ad vantage, collapsed to 125 all out lmran Khan being the leading Sussex bowler with three wickets for 26 on a drying pitch. The wicket was kinder to Sussex the next day and they passed Worcestershire's total fairly comfortably. Alikhan scoring 41 and Colin Wells 45.

ENGLAND suffered yet another the final of the NatWest Trophy has made an official complaint when they beat Surrey by four about the abuse of several of his players, including Imran, by a Lloyd was his side's top scorer section of the crowd.

The Worcestershire secretary, him victory in a three-way play-off was upstaged with the bat by Mike Vockins, said: "I have against Lee Trevino and Hugh apologised on behalf of the club to Baiocchi for the Benson and both Imran and Alikhan. As far as Hedges International title at I am concerned those involved are not Worcestershire supporters, and but with Surrey needing five to they are not cricket supporters. They are mindless idiots."

John Player League Table

In the other Natwest semi-final	Feen. Jak	P	W	L	NA	T	Pts
Sugger corile beat semi-nnal	Essex (1)	13	9	3	1	0	38
Sussex easily beat Worcestershire	riorinampionahira (5)	13		4	2	O	36
Dy nive wickets in a disappointing	Livini Patrice (3)	19	R	2	4	ō	34
game ruined by prolonged rain.	recurrynamenus (12)	13	R	A	4	ŏ	34
Worcestowsking of protonged rain.	Wall (10) William Property	13				÷	
Worcestershire, despite home ad-	Yorkshire (6)	12	ž	7	-	1	30
validate, courned to 125 all out	Somerast (10)	12	-	2	Ī	Ū	30
lmran Khan being the leading	Sussex /2	13		9	2	0	28
Silegon housen with the leading	Suspex (2)	13	7	0	0	0	28
Sussex bowler with three wickets	Glamorgan (14)	13	6	8	1	0	26
ive 40 on a drying nitch The	Warwickshire (6)	13 .	6,	5	2	1	26
wicket was kinder to Sussex the	-and thill de the street of th	72		4		D	24
next day and they are the	MINNESSEE [12] Hannes	13	3	R	2	ī	20
next day and they passed Worces-	CHICABINITY (34)	12	4	7	4	'n	18
VELOUICE M TOTAL TAXMIN A	Leiceatershire (8)	14	ă.	ė	4	ŏ	_
Alikhan scoring 41 and Calin	Surrey (17)	19			,	7	18
Alikhan scoring 41 and Colin Wells 45.	Woroseterahire /18)	19	4	0	-	1	18
The Course	Gioucesterables (6)	10	7 .		Ų.	D	19.
- MG CHANNEX PROPERTY IN A MILE 1	1985 positions	,,,	-	ru :		0	12
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MOTOR RACING: Maurice Hamilton at the Austrian Grand Prix

# Prost closes the gap on Mansell

ALAIN PROST kept going long enough to win the Austrian Grand Prix in sizzling heat on Sunday and move to second place in the drivers' points table, only two behind Britain's Nigel Mansell.

The McLaren driver survived as the three others in the running for the championship retired. He moved up from fourth place, in the table after Mansell, lying second in the race at the Osterreichring suffered a snapped drive shaft on his Williams-Honda on the 32nd lap. By then Mansell's teammate, Nelson Piquet, had stopped with engine failure, and Ayrton Senna had dropped out with a severe misfire on his Lotus-Renault.

Prost started the race at a cautious pace, concerned about fuel consumption and tyre wear, and did not take the lead until after half-distance when the Benetton-BMWs of Gerhard Berger and Teo Fabi, which had controlled the early laps, ran into

Mansell, who had led Prost until the pit stops for tyres, was 12 seconds behind the McLaren when he retired. "The car had been running perfectly," he said. "I had plenty in hand and felt I could come out on top in the ond when fuel consumption came into play." With Mansell's threat removed

Prost found himself half a minute ahead of his teammate, Keke Rosberg, but the Finn retired when his engine cut out due to an electrical problem. That left Pros one lap ahead of Michele Alboreto's Ferrari and his Ferrari toammate, Stefan Johansson, who lost valuable time when the nose cone flew off his car. Johansson enlivened an otherwise dull second half of the race by chasing and catching the Lola-Fords of Alan Jones and Patrick Tumbay, but the former world champion and the Frenchman took fourth and fifth places, to give the team and the Ford-Cosworth turbo-engines their first championship points.

World Championship standings: 1, N. Mansel (GB), 55pts; 2, A. Prosi, 53; 3, A. Sanna (Braz), 48. 4, N. Piquot (Braz), 47. 5, K. Rosberg, 19; 6 equal. . Lamte (Fr) and R. Arnoux, 14, Other British: 11

# James's dance of delight

MARK JAMES made a 15ft birdir putt at the first extra hole to give

The Yorkshire-based 32-year-old Ryder Cup golfer did a jig of delight when he beat the two internationals to win the £30,000 first prize. His delight was understandable, as on the final green he had hung his head in despair as he missed a three-foot putt that would have given him the title without a

Trevino, 46, the American Ryder Cup captain, and the South African Baiocchi, celebrating his 40th birthday got into the play-off with last-round scores of 68 against James's 70, all three finishing 14 under par on 274. The last play-of in this event, in 1978, also involved Trevino; on that occasion he won, beating Neil Coles and Noel

Vol. 135 No. 9 Week ending August 31, 1986

# Washington threatens to bomb Libya again

THE UNITED STATES said early this week that Libya behind the mortar attacks on British it would bomb Libya again if Libyan terrorism families at the Akrotiri base in Cyprus earlier continued. Mr Larry Speakes, the White House this month, which caused injuries but no deaths. spokesman, said the government would take Libya is also said to have planned another "all appropriate action" to prevent a renewal bomb attack in Berlin, which was thwarted of terrorist attacks. Other officials said the and further attacks on US diplomats in Europe. warning and this week's joint US-Egyptian The American ambassador to the United military exercises in the Mediterranean were Nations, Mr Veruon Walters, is to visit Europe intended to send a shot across the bows of to lobby support for further action against Colonel Gadafy. Intelligence reports have found Libya.

# Attempt to destabilise Gadafy

THE United States and Egypt Pentagon has contingency plans to Union. US officials denied that a a remote area and was regarded by the weekend on the edge of Libya's destabilising the Gadafy regime.

and the F-16 fighter-bombers of a previously reluctant Egyptian Government, Operation Sea Wind cials as a routine affair which had been planned for months.

Although it was taking place in what the Pentagon called "international waters and Egyptian air space," it was also close to the area where clashes between the US Sixth Fleet and Libyan forces culminated in the bombing of Tripoli last April.

Unattributed US suggestions that American fighters would not seek confrontation or cross the "line of death" proclaimed Colonel Gadafy sounded less comed the American "freedom of navigation" exercise last March That led to the Libyan Sam-5

preempt fresh Libyan attacks on second carrier group, the USS US targets, if necessary by what is Kennedy, was taking part, though | nature" which caused little alarm. being called "rubble-izing" Colonel Gadafy's oil refineries. More peaceful efforts to tighten the economic campaign with European help may be imminent as the CIA reports assert the vulnerability to a domestic coup of America's favourite

The administration is also presented as hopeful that France may even cooperate against him exerting pressure through Chad.

> By Michael White in Washington

where Colonel Gadafy has lot supported a local insurgency, is what seems to be a round psychological rather than direct warfare. "We will employ all appropriate measures to stop Libyansponsored terrorism," was the State Department's comment.

training nature of the air and sea manoeuvres, which involved least one Sixth Fleet carrier group around the USS Forrestal, and Arab world and even to restore better relations with the Soviet

it is in the general area. In the past year, President

Hosni Mubarak has three times rejected US requests for such exercises, which could yet rebound against his shaky but Westernorientated regime. With fresh re- oon, said that at least 1,200 people ports of Egypt's deepening had died and that another 300 economic plight, there have been | were receiving medical treatment suggestions that during top-level after the gas escape, which came at talks in Washington in June, US | night while villagers were asleep. officials proposed to cancel Egypt's Travellers from the area gave military debt in return for receiving use of the former Israeli bases in Sinai. According to the congres- the area carrying oxygen cylinders sional General Accounting Office last summer, Egypt owes the US | ed supplies. A doctor in the capital.

Egyptian Government would be a | signs of asphyxiation similar to particularly ironic outcome. Given strangulation. It was like being the declared ambition of the US gassed by a kitchen stove, he said. moval of Colonel Gadafy, the man victims pure oxygen, but we don't it sees as a prime mover behind | have any up there." international terrorist attacks, the exercise is widely assumed to be been affected by a mixture of intended to destabilise Tripoli. The | gases, including hydrogen and sul-Administration believes that the phur. Hydrogen sulphide is com-Libyan military is restless and the | monly released in volcanic areas US seems prepared to squeeze but vulcanologists agreed that it financially-strapped Egypt into was unlikely to be responsible for this bottom water comes up to the cooperation even as the Soviet the mass deaths. It has a etrong Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Vla- rotten eggs smell which would dimir Petrovsky, visits Cairo.

# Volcanic gas kills villagers

A GAS bubble disaster has killed up to 1,500 people, believed to have been overwhelmed and "drowned" by carbon dioxide released from a volcanic crater lake in Cameroon. The gas rolled over a six square-mile area around Lake Nios, northwest Cameroon, catching villagers unaware and giving them no chance to escape.

The disaster is the second of its kind to strike the West African republic in almost exactly two years. The first, which claimed 35 lives in August, 1984, happened in experts as a baffling "quirk of "One-off is nothing. But two in two years becomes vastly more fright-

studied the volcanic region of President Paul Biya, of Camer-

higher estimates of the toll. Rescue teams were trekking into by back pack to replenish exhaust-Yaounde, said that the victims were suffering burning pains in Accidentally destabilising the the eyes and nose, coughing, and

Casualties appeared to have warn of its release, and it is also pure speculation.

Wurn Gas Leak CAMEROON

lighter than air and would dis perse rapidly. British experts beening," a British scientist who has lieve that a carbon dioxide release is a more likely cause.

Dr Godfrey Fitton, a lecturer in geology at Edinburgh University. has first-hand knowledge of the volcanic area which lies along the Cameroon-Nigeria border, where Mount Cameroon (4.070 metres). the highest peak in West Africa has had four lava outbursts this

He believes that one possible explanation for the gas escape may be heavy rainfall — the rainy season covers August — disturbing the waters of the lake, where the gas has been trapped, and triggering its release.

have been fed from an extinc Aministration to foment the re- The ideal treatment is to give volcano. The gas could either be trapped by sediment in the lake oottom or held in the water in the depths of the lake.

"These lakes are very deep and the bottom waters become saturated with carbon dioxide, forming a sort of soda water at the bottom. You get a dramatic overturn and top. Heavy rainfall could be the thing which triggers it. This is

# Hard Labor for Aussies, bleak prospects for Hawke

recovering lost popularity after the swingeing budget, announced by the Federal Treasurer last week, which is rather tougher than the most pessimistic commentators had forecast. Frequently described recently as enjoying a champagne lifestyle on a beer income. Australia has quickly built up one of the heaviest per-capita foreign debts in the world as the market prices of its principal, mainly mineral, exports and with them the Australian dollar plunged. The chief aim of the measures is to cut the budget deficit, which can apparently be done in present circumstances only by might also be unable to afford defence making severe inroads on the social wage so dear to the ruling Labor Party and so unaffordably dear for the nation.

Keating's speech - "the world having alashed our national income" - recent to the free-market forces which have 230 million a year.

United States in dumping subsidised grain and augar surpluses on some of Australia's principal agricultural customers like the Soviet Union and China. Having declared that this blow would not be allowed to affect the principle of Canberra's commitment to the ANZUS alliance, from which New Zealand has already been suspended because of its anti-nuclear policy, the Australians pulled out of a military exercise with the Americans on the eve of the budget for financial reasons. But the Foreign Minister warned in the same breath that Australia purchases from the US because of the loss of income to American dumping. Another principle thrown overboard in the interests If there was an element of paranola in Mr . of the economy was Mr Keating's announcement of a resumption of uranium sales to France, banned in 1988 in protest against French nuclear tests in the Pacific, to save

MOST Australians would probably not give brought a large trade deficit there are also

But the stringent austerity package as a government spending to zero in real terms.

But the stringent austerity package as a government spending to zero in real terms.

But the stringent austerity package as a government spending to zero in real terms.

But the stringent austerity package as a government spending to zero in real terms. scribed as his country's greatest crisis since identity cards to counter tax and social tion, and welfare spending and also foreign aid, the restraint of wage rises to barely half on cars, fuel, wine and luxury goods could, of British budgets over the years.

million, and to restrict the growth of ..... Report, page 6

billing as the harshest in decades, to match more investment, and less consumption economic problems which Mr Hawke de- expects annual economic growth to fall from 4 to 2.5 per cent while inflation continues at the war. It has a socialist government doing the current 8 per cent. All this will things which Thatcherism has never ven- antagonise Labors; left, wing, the trade tured, like deferring pension increases, unions, with which Mr Hawke used to get abolishing student grants, and introducing on so well, and the party's better-of supporters alike. The Government said it security fraud. The cuts in health, educa would risk electoral defeat to tackle the crisis and cannot be accused of breaking its word. It took considerable political courage the current rate of inflation, the delay in to make a frontal assault on the national promised income tax cuts, the higher taxes standard of living when Labor had already lost so much in support in the country. Now however, have been lifted from a long series there can be little of the party's electorate left to alienate. If Mr Hawke brings off his What makes the Australian budget re- great gamble he deserves full credit, but he markable is that all these measures are to has only until the end of next year, by be imposed simultaneously. The Govern which time the next election is due, to ment aims to reduce the deficit by 40 per produce an economic miracle, and that looks cent in one year to the equivalent of £1,600 to be out of reach. 

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became known in 1945 it was noted that many of the perpetrators were educated people. Racism, it was realised, was not just an aberration affecting a few young mine completely the elaborate structure of laws and practices introduced during the previous 100

South Africa is now the only themselver country which incorporates racism into its laws. Other countries have other faults, but South Africa's is unique in its potential to destroy the moral foundation of civilisation itself.

Philip Natal Liskeard Lodge. Tupwood Lane.

It was high time the Guardian was reminded of its liberal heritage on South Africa (Letters, June 29), and now at last Joy Richardson's letter, and Lawrence Cockroft's "Clearing the air of cant about black rule" (July 20) are a welcome brath of fresh air after your interminable moralising. It was deplorable that Helen Suzman's magisterial rebuke to Mr Frazer and the EPG had to appear in The Times (July 2), and not in the paper which tradition suggests, is its true home.

Cockrost's scenario overlooks some basic geographic and demographic facts. The white population of South Africa is larger than the population of more than a dozen African states, and within the country the ratio of white to black is 1 to 5, not 1 to 20 as in Algeria, or 1 to 30 as it was in Rhodesia. South Africa is much better able to withstand protracted guerrilla war, in which it has substantial experience. Afrikaners have been on the continent as long as European settlers have lived in North America, where it is less than a hundred years since the view was that "the only good Injun

The Afrikaners cannot be defeated however massive the communist support to black nationalists, and the most likely outcome of a protracted military conflict is partition, with a rabidly Afrikaner state sharing power with nobody in the old Boer homelands.

As Joy Richardson suggests,

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When the mass murder of Jews why shouldn't a deal with the Russians be attractive to both parties? The Russians would gain a prize, not another bottomless African sink, without spending a kopeck; Communists and fascists are as alike as peas in a pod, and practising a total segregation wherever they have established

The West would do well to follow Helen Suzman's advice, and allow Africans of all kinds to work out their own future in their own way.

Donald W. Fryer. Department of Geography University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Ian Aitken's reference to Papua New Guinea: "We should not decide upon them (sanctions on South Africa) to please Papua New Guinea or even the Queen" (July 27) is rather unfortunate

The Queen has no relevance whatsoever to the day to day tion of being repressed by a monarchy since it is a redundant institution. However, there is much understanding of the concept of repression by rapacious international capitalism.

When Papua New Guinea pu out of the Commonwealth Games it sacrificed a great deal. Papua New Guinea has no ties with the South African economy (come and check the gold deposits!), but experience of a colonial past and the arrogance of a few ex-Southern African whites who have tested the warm waters of the South Pacific in order to re-enact their segregated lifestyle has made Papua New Guinea very justified indeed to pressurise Britain into taking real action against apart-

There will be ironic jeers from the black Commonwealth when the huge influx of white wantoks (relatives) from South Africa block the ports of entry into UK. Julian Davis,

PO Box 1216. Papua New Guinea.

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# Taxing the expats' patience

cies their vote is a key influence.

Mr Shaw's wish to disenfranchise

the rich, but not the poor, is a non-

Although it is true that expatri-

ates do not pay taxes in Britain

and are thus not entitled to vote in

Britain, it would then seem a

logical conclusion that we should

be allowed to vote in the country in

which we pay tax. This is not the

case and most expatriates find

themselves suddenly disen-

vast sums of money in sunny

those working on VSO schemes.

ies or even those promoting British

fugitives is as naive as Mr Tebbit's

ly read the political and economic

situation in Britain better than

many in mainland Britain who

apparently suffer from "tunnel-

at great personal sacrifice.

Leon Drucker.

John L. Shaw asks (Letters, ing construction workers, doctors August 17) why expatriates should and nurses and teachers abroad. be allowed to vote at all since they That some of these Britons may do not contribute to Britain. But in fact, many do. Not all are but that is their right. on higher pay avoiding tax as he

Any expatriate who, for ex- follows that those who don't pay ample, receives a public service tax in this country through being pension of any kind will continue unemployed and in receipt of to pay UK tax at source and in unemployment benefit shouldn't addition pay tax in the country of have the vote either. Also at risk residence. In some cases a compli-cated procedure may allow, after citizens who have the vote because long delays, a measure of partial they live here: in some constituen-

relief from this double taxation. HM Government, however, makes it clear that an expatriate, even though he pays UK tax, can receive no benefits whatsoever. Thus thousands of expatriates perhaps hundreds of thousands throughout the world are denied fundamental justice.

As Mr Shaw sleeps comfortably under his Thatcher defence umbrella or next enjoys the benefits of the Welfare State and its medical care, perhaps he will be grateful for my continuing contribution to his security and well-being.

Initially the House of Commons that an expatriate paying UK tax should enjoy a franchise for life, as running of Papua New Guinea, but the major political parties, and yet somehow she is much anxious to manoeuvre votes, to liked. Maybe this is because the their shame forgot that "taxation without representation is tyran-

> Laurence Adkins. St Peter Port,

The publication of a bad letter in newspaper affects the newspaper, quite as much as the author

I guess John L. Shaw must have burnt quite a few holes in newspapers in his time. Now he imputes just a single motive to all present expatriates, that they want to get sickeningly rich. And the insult in his letter is intended. It is quite obvious he has never heard of record unemployment figures forc-

Rainbow Warrior and on board

during the attack by French

agents. The letter of Brian Thomas

(August 10), in which he states

that Fernando Pereira, the photo-

grapher of the Rainbow Warrior,

was killed due to the negligence of

the harbour authorities is a com-

The attack took place close to

plete falsification of the facts.

truly on the bottom.

nuclear weapons now.

Mate, Rainbow Warrior,

Greenpeace Marine Division

I work in the local juvenile

court. In order to bring youthful

miscreants into line with current

intend at our next meeting of court

staff and magistrates to propose an

extension of the oath we currently

the right to lie for procedural

Stan Walinets.

London, SW17.

Application of the state of the

purposes." So help me, Gawd.

Government policy on truth,

Martin Gotjé,

Auckland.

Court jest

New Zealand.

- the stuff they pull over people's

have noted that America gets her

investment capital to produce tam-

pons by insisting on cash on the

barrel-head from its citizons for

any medical trentment they may

I refer to Martin Walker's article

on the shortages of basic commod-

itles in the Soviet Union. I believe

that many shortages are created

and controlled by the government

in order to interest people in

becoming active Communist Party

members, as these members are

that they may readily obtain many

local and imported goods, (includ-

Martin Walker states, "wome!

Shortages of tampons and sani-

Letters to the Editor are welcome

but not all can be auknowledged

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sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters

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Party.

Santo.

Vanuatu.

Annie Barrell.

P. N. Purcell,

Halifax, Nova Scotia.

However, to be fair, he should

If Mother Russia can't muster the efficiency to supply her daughters with tampons and sanitary napkins (Martin Walker, July 20), perhaps she could compromise and provide them with natural silk was the First Mate of the

Western women are rediscovering this ancient method, and finding it ecologically more responsible, cheaper, more comfortable, purely of cotton wool: even those

midnight without any warning whatsoever. The Rainbow Warrior Preeminently, though, this innosank within minutes and by the time harbour authorities arrived on the scene the ship was well and If France wants to clean their hands they should stop testing

ing those in short supply), which to the stout lads of the Red Army those less "well connected" may are, so to speak, another kettle of not. fish. Still, things could be worse. Their unmarried counterparts in ... provide three quarters of the doctors and two-thirds of the Eire can legally obtain nothing at all, unless they follow the suggestion I once spotted scrawled in an Irish women's loc: "Clingfilm - an tary towels is probably why these Irish solution to an Irish problem." women, and others, come to the

Hilary Knight, **Guernsey Street** Victoria, B.C.

Martin Walker, your Moscow correspondent, certainly assured continued subscriptions with his grand view as represented by his in-depth analysis of the scarcity of for women's rights. After all, who can afford to pass up such vital information especially if you're in

It should not be forgotten that we - outside Britain - see and feel the effects of foreign and want to vote may seem surprising, economic policies implemented the present government and are, Mr Shaw's logic is capable of in many instances, better able to judge the wisdom of various poli-

> That place of taxation remains the criterion for franchise is yet another of the mysteries of our

Kathleen Rettenberger Hoffeldstrasse.

Does John. L. Shaw imagine that all expatriate Brits are money-grubbing tax dodgers? We came abroad to survive, m

husband being thrown out of wor at the age of 52. There are no company perks, European allow ances or tax dodges attached to his job. Our children went to German schools and we did it without hel

Contributions are not just made with money Mr Shaw (though unbelievably to Germans, my husband is taxed on his RAF pension) Our contributions, we think, are It is a myth that the majority of considerable. We further the cause expatriates work tax-free earning of international and especially English/German friendship at climes. No mention is ever made of grassroot level.

We have been disenfranchised those working in British subsidiar- for eleven years, having no European vote either! We shall be interests and culture abroad often forced to retire to England in three years' time, why then shouldn't we To brand all expatriates tax- have a say in who is to govern.

Had we the choice we would stay believing most expatriates would in Germany, if only to avoid the vote Conservative given the narrow minded, nationalistic and chancel Distance lends objectivity dare one say it "little Englander" and my fellow expatriates certain- traits obviously still flourishing in

E. M. Davey. Hofheimerstr Hofheim/Lorsbach,

# Women in Mother Russia

and probably healthier. (Tampons are not, incidentally, composed not impregnated with industrial scented deodorant contain substances which may be hazardous).

vation could go far toward solving the eternal Soviet problem of supply and demand, because sponges are reusable. Three or four should see a woman handily through a year.

The commodious condoms issued

It should now read: "I promise before Almighty God to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, while reserving tampons in Moscow and his skilful expansion of it into a cause celebre the futures market for cotton wool The merental and the property of the field

## Hurricane rains off the holiday

By Edward Vulliamy

A TROPICAL hurricane, which picked up an icy polar wind and the name "Charlie" as it crossed the Atlantic, wrote off Britain's summer Bank Holiday in a wash of heavy rain on Monday. There were accidents and traffic jams as holidaymakers drove home on slippery roads. Undeterred, crowds took to the

streets of Notting Hill for a wet 21st carnival and Mods destroyed property and fought with police at the close of the annual scooter rally on the Isle of Wight, where there were 150 arrests. Police estimated that the num-

bers converging on west London for the carnival at Notting Hill were much smaller than on the Monday of last year's festival 100,000 turned out to revel in the rain, compared to nearly half a million in the sunshine of 1985.

drugs or attempting to buy drugs. Some reggae sound systems had

to pack up because of the risk of electrical faults, but many played splashed in the puddles, paint ran on the banners and the colourful, carefully prepared costumes of the children on the floats were soaked. Yet, as evening came, the streets were still throbbing with crowds

The violence involving 200 Mods on the Isle of Wight came at the end of a scooter rally and concert attended by 8,000 at Newport. A marquee and catering vehicles were set alight and a fire engine, fire brigade Land-Rover and a police control caravan were stoned and pelted with bottles. The police had to flee the caravan.

planning in Birmingham when Britain's first Monaco-style city centre street race had to be abandoned at the half-way stage.

But Birmingham City Council is expected to stage more of the races despite an estimated £400,000 loss on the Super Prix that was cut short after 25 eventful laps for the Formula 3000 drivers.

"The weather has cost us hundreds of thousands of pounds," said Mr John Carlton, chairman of the road race sub-committee.

Luis Sala, aged 26, from Barcelong, who was in the lead when the race was later declared and who was later declared the winner, said his car has spun twice. "They should have stopped it earlier. The track was getting worse and worse

#### Hovercraft in Channel rescue

By Martin Wainwright

A HOVERCRAFT was left flourdering in mid-Channel for four hours at the weekend after a fire in the main electrical system disabled its engines. The Hoverspeed craft Swift was shuttling 132 passengers from Calais to Dover when the fire broke out 10 miles from the British coast. Crew members dealt with the flames and prevented them from affecting the passenger section. But an RAF helicopter was called out to take off an injured steward-

ess and winch down emergency engineers. It later returned to drop drugs for a pregnant passenger. back to port.

# Labour on course for conference collisions

resume for nearly two months, the cabinet and has, so far, been persuasion fails, Nirex will evenpolitical conference season begins strongly defended by Mr Kinnock tually have to go to the courts to Congress, which the Labour movegeneral election campaign. The main aim of the Brighton congress, and of the Labour Party's own work together in harmony to revive the economy, create jobs, and

Already, however, the two sides policy. The party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, wants priority to be given to the establishment of a statutory minimum wage, the lev-Labour attains office. Unions engineers and electricians want to remain free to bargain for what-

improve the lot of the less well-off.

nuclear power. The TUC's general Mr Norman Willis, the TUC's its deputy chief constable. But the realise that any clash between council, which had previously sup- general secretary, who came under ported a balanced energy policy, attack last week from some union including nuclear power, now leaders who demanded his resignawants the entire nuclear pro- tion because of what they called gramme to be halted "until a his "affable" style of leadership. comprehensive energy policy re- The TUC has not scored many view has been carried out." The victories in the past seven years change of stance, in the aftermath and Mr Willis, who is in his third of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, year as general secretary, is doubtthreatens the jobs of at least 100,000 trade unionists who are While affability is not a charge employed, directly or indirectly, by that could be levelled against the nuclear industry. It could also many of his predecessors. Mr prejudice the nuclear debate in the Willis has enough admirers to "shoot-to-kill" policy against the one's job was at risk if the factory arrive at a policy on the subject.

The party's own anti-nuclear Humberside, politely but firmly - has since been taken over by Mr strength since Chernobyl and and illegally - prevented engi- Sampson, whose team may well there were demands this week that neers from carrying out tests to reach a different - and politically Mr Kinnock should find another find a suitable burial ground for less embarrassing — conclusion. job for his environment spokes- low-level radioactive waste. The Mr Sampson's lengthy report on man, Dr John Cunningham, be- engineers, employed by the Nuc- Mr Stalker denied that the accusacause of his support for the civil lear Industry Radioactive Waste tions against the deputy chief nuclear industry. Dr Cunningham, Executive (Nirex), had run up constable emanated from Northern whose Copeland constituency in- against what the Commons en- Ireland or from the security sercludes the Sellafield nuclear vironment committee has identi- vices. But, since the report will reprocessing plant, is one of the fied as the Nimby (Not-in-my- never be made public, suspicion caused by a bomb.

against attack inside the party. An gain access to the three sites. anti-nuclear vote by the TUC next week, however, would strengthen the political argument for moving him to a less sensitive post.

The plant at Sellafield itself was when British Nuclear Fuels Ltd guidelines if it were discharged into the Irish Sea. It was the first any evidence of serious misconduct years and is an indication of the about misuse of police cars and to increased sensitivity of the Mr Stalker's "unwise" friendship

lobby after Chernobyl. A BNFL

spokesman said the waste was

"only slightly more radioactive

led to a shutdown under the old

less being cast as the scapegoat.

fordshire. Lincolnshire and

ensure his survival.

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN by James Lewis

most able members of the shadow back-yard) Syndrome. If will remain that Mr Stalker was

plinary offences. A 1,500-page re-

Kevin Taylor, who has nover faced

any criminal charges in spite of

exhaustive police inquiries into his

Though Mr Sampson thought

these matters merited investiga-

controversy will not rest there.

the deputy chief constable of the

second biggest force in the coun-

try? Who decided that such trivial

allegations called for his suspen-

Until he was ordered to stay at

home. Mr Stalker was beading an

evidence to uphold the allegations.

sion from duty? And why?

"set up" in order to get him off the Ulster inquiry.

Terrorism and intimidation is Northern Ireland caused a strike temporarily laid to rest when Mr by more than 2,000 staff in social John Stalker, deputy chief consta- security and housing offices. The ble of Greater Manchester, was stoppage was, however, seen as the allowed to return to work after an first act of solidarity across the began their campaign against the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and was

The walkout began when Catholic office workers received death threats from the outlawed Ulster Freedom Fighters, and Protestant workers were similarly threatened by nationalists in a Catholic area of Lisburn. The strike rapidly spread around the province, by each side refused to return to work until the threat to the other had Dr Rhodes Boyson, industry

minister at the Northern Ireland Office, said that while he did not approve of strikes, he supported The man mainly responsible for tion by a disciplinary tribunal, Mr the fact that Protestant and Rotrying to preserve the concordat Stalker's local police committee man Catholic workers had come between Labour and the unions is threw out his report and reinstated together. "Unless both sides them puts both communities at Who, it will continue to be risk, then the future of this provasked, first pointed the finger at ince is very black indeed," he said. manufacturing company, struck its own blow against sectarianism when it ordered all Lovalist flags. bunting and political posters to be removed from its Belfast factory Responding to a campaign of ingations that the Royal Ulster ers, the company chairman, Sin IRA. The inquiry, which was was allowed to become a cam-Villagers at three sites in Bed- thought to have found enough paigning ground or if any workers were allowed to be intimidated for their religious or political beliefs.

A video shop in London which was destroyed by an explosion killing one man and injuring 12 was an important centre for dissidents opposed to the government of Avatollah Khomeini, Scotland Yard believes the explosion in the basement of the Konsington Video Club, Kensington High Street, was

# Keays dashes Parkinson comeback hopes

THE hopes of Mr Cecil Parkinson figures have been highly sceptical,

By recalling the affair which led and Industry Secretary.

to his resignation in 1983, and reminding the public of her bitter- regular visitor to Downing Street. ness against the Conservative es- Miss Keays, interviewed by the tablishment, Miss Keays psychiatrist Dr Anthony Clare, strengthened the hand of those says she can forgive Mr Parkinson, who have advised Mrs Thatcher but refers to others involved in the that the political cost of rehabili- matter — who are unnamed — as tating Mr Parkinson would be guilty of "calculated cruelty and

really can't forgive is the hypocrisy, the lying and the arrogance of the other people who interfere -Conservative politicians who were prepared to destroy me to protect

and some forgiveness for Mr Par- ing style in a draft report on The report follows the intervenkinson, but by recalling the prom- publicity tactics which will be tion of Mr David Steel, the Libers made to her, Mr Parkinson's hopes month. calling Mr Parkinson.

The usual pre-reshuffle speculaalthough most senior Government Liberals have been unfairly and Mrs Golding.

tion as a result of her pregnancy in for a return to the Cabinet were Mrs Thatcher is known still to October, 1983, and the bearing of dealt another blow last week by place great trust in the judgment his child would be the subject of the publication of an interview of the man who was party chair- public discussion once again is a with his former lover. Miss Sara man for her landslide election sombre political warning to the victory in 1983 and later her Trade Prime Minister.

> It will add strength to the He is still a close adviser, and a argument of those, like Viscount Whitelaw, the Leader of the Lords, and Mr John Wakeham, the Chief Whip, who have argued that the Government would be damaged by Mr Parkinson's return. A spokesman for Good House-

keeping magazine said that it was In an interview in Good House- The implication that the back- a coincidence that the article keeping, Miss Keays said: "What I ground to Mr Parkinson's resigna- appeared in the September issue.

# Liberals to clean up tactics

By Peter Hetherington

Her comments express sympathy clean up aspects of its campaign- campaigning.

of becoming Foreign Secretary, . The report warns that the politi- byelection after criticism of Liberand her father's "scandalised" re- cal process will be undermined in al tactics by opponents. action to her lover's refusal to tell the electorate's eyes unless there is The new MP. Mrs Llin Golding. the Prime Minister of the affair, a reappraisal by the Liberals, as who narrowly retained the seat for she makes it difficult for Mrs well as the Conservative and Labour with a 799 majority. claims Thatcher to consider seriously re- Labour parties, particularly at she was the victim of a smear

But the draft, from the Leeds lets. One listed the joint income of tion has mentioned a possible post West MP, Mr Michael Mr John Golding, the former MP for Mr Parkinson, either in the Meadowcroft, chairman of the 10- and now general secretary of the Cabinet or at Downing Street, and member unit, says that the National Communications Union,

THE Liberal Party will be urged to singled out for so-called dirty

ises of marriage she says were presented to a byelection unit next leader, in the closing stages of last month's Newcastle-under-Lyme

campaign in several Liberal leaf-

Militant on the wane

By James Naughtle

EFFORTS by Militant activists and their supporters to mount a fight back against expulsions at next month's Labour Party conference, appear to have failed.

Only four constituency parties have submitted versions of the conference resolution circulated among activists opposing the "witchhunt" against Militant. The national executive committee has expelled eight Militant activists.

The lack of support for the campaign against the NEC is good news for the party leadership, which can expect overwhelming support in Blackpool when the executive report on the disciplinary proceedings is discussed.

There was never any danger of defeat, but a substantial backlash from constituencies who have shown some sympathy with Militant in the past would have been embarrassing.

It is likely that some of those expelled will seek permission to address the conference, and Mr Neil Kinnock, the party leader. appears happy to support such moves. Such is the support across the party for the NEC's disciplinary measures, that some of those around him are positively relishing the opportunity for E crushing conference vote against

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# Tebbit muzzles student right

THE Conservative Party hierarchy

has taken up arms against elements in the Federation of Conservative Students after prolonged confusion over the Lord Stockton affair which left the party deeply embarrassed. Mr Harry Phibbs, who last week

published a controversial article accusing Lord Stockton of "war crimes" in the Tory student magaeditor, apologised to Mr Norman Tebbit, the party chairman, for the embarrassment caused and admitted that he had not followed the guidelines covering party publica-

In return, Mr Tebbit agreed to drop his legal suit against Mr Phibbs, which claimed libel and damages for breach of contract and misrepresentation.

Mr Tebbit, who is on holiday abroad, took the action to stem the tide of embarrassment which flowed from an article accusing Lord Stockton, the former Tory Prime Minister, of "war crimes" The magazine carries the logo (

the Conservative Party and the address of Conservative Central Office. Mr Tebbit was concerned over the impression created that MR EDDIE SHAH, the pioneer of ailing paper. His move comes after of party officials.

Mr Tebbit is known to be furious ver.

**By James Naughtle** have been over his alleged refusal to take tough action against them. act when it became clear that the Dominated by the hard right,

the student group has been a terest source of considerable torment to Central Office, though some senior he recognised it was wrong to have party figures — including Mr Tebbit at times - have argued that it should be ignored rather than attacked. These events appear to pitch the chairman into zine, New Agenda, resigned as its open conflict with the students who have been among his strongest supporters in the past.

The article in New Agenda rehearsed the account by the historian, Count Nikolai Tolstoy, of the return of 40,000 Cossack prisoners to the Soviet Union at the end of the second world war when Mr next month's Young Conservative Macmillan, as he then was, was a senior British minister in Italy.

Such attacks on the party establishment by the FCS are commonplace and normally pass unre-

marked. But the party decided affair was inciting widespread in

In his statement, Mr Phibbs said included the offending interview. with Count Nikolai Tolstoy, in the magazine without the party's per-

The affair, however, is not yet over. The FCS intends to use the Tory conference at Bournemouth in October to keep up its cam-

A further dimension of the embarrassment caused to the party emerged in the form of an invitation to Count Tolstoy to talk to conference about his book

Mr Phibbs also said he now intended to produce a new maga zine "entirely independent of the

# Shah gives up control of Today

By Patrick Wintour

the attack on Lord Stockton, for- the Fleet Street revolution, last his local newspaper company, the merly Mr Harold Macmillan, had week handed over financial control been carried out with the approval of his daily newspaper, Today, to Lonrho, publishers of The Obser-

#### at the affair, not least because his Mr Shah will remain chairman difficulties with FCS in the past of News UK, which publishes the PM's Nimrod dilemma

By David Simpson

THE Government is heading for a sub-contract work equivalent to difficult decision in the autumn the entire cost of the system within over whether to adhere to the UK. British-built Nimrod early warning system or switch to US-built the UK's three leading defence Bosing Awac jets.

of a growing wave of anti-Ameri- both Racal and Ferranti can sentiment in the UK several times this year after the Westland, Aerospace, Mr Jerry King, said

Nimrod scheme, built by Britain's A heavy percentage of the remainbiggest electronics group, GEC, ing work on the Awacs would come although some £900 million has from UK assembly on the E3 of

The total Awacs scheme is exfinancing by the US Government on different projects placed by which is prepared to subsidise Boeing with British firms.

loyal to the delayed UK scheme or tractors on future export orders for pers, owned by the Reed Group, transfer to one of the seven US the Awacs system. options for which it has invited

be submitted to a full Cabinet have already been critical of the of the British-built system. coat over-run on the GEC system

full operating criteria. can manufacturers agree to place to fight for the British scheme.

Boeing last week wheeled out groups, other than GEC, to assist The conflict over which system its argument. One of these, to accept seems destined to strain Plessey, was employed some weeks Britain's trade relations with the ago to provide radar systems for Awacs should Boeing beat GEC to Already there have been claims the contract. It has been joined by The vice-president of Boeing

tive control of Today last month Land-Rover, and most recently, that 8,000 man years' of work after the appointment of Mr Torry Rolls-Royce engine affairs. A ges- would be diverted by the US group ture, of the order of British support to the UK should it win the for the Libyan bombing raids, has contract for Britain's AEW. But been required to appease the US only some 10 per cent of this will be directly related to the Boeing Ministry of Defence officials are E3 plane which forms the Awac's believed to have swung behind the system, Mr King admitted, and Boeing airborne warning and con- some half of it would go to Plessoy trol system in preference to the through the radars it is providing.

already been committed to Nim- electronics systems supplied from The balance of the £900 million pected to cost under £1 billion, far workload offset for the cost of the less than originally proposed, contract would be provided over thanks partly to some indirect five years through sub-contracting

research costs for the Boeing sys- One incentive which Boeing is from holiday, has been making holding up to the Government, Next month, after evaluating however, is its willingness to to stay. Plans are also afoot for a detection modifications introduced transfer technology to UK firms, promotional relaunch in the auto Nimrod and to cost improve- should it win the AEW contract, tumn. ments proposed by GEC, the MoD and its readiness to employ British Mr Shah feared that if rival decide whether to remain electronics companies as sub-con-

GEC's Nimrod, in contrast, is Guardian series his own group late tenders. Of these, the Boeing not expected to win export orders would have been squeezed in scheme is the clear front runner. of any substance as a result of the South Manchester between Reeds The MoD recommendation will poor image it has gained over the and the Lancashire and Cheshire be submitted to a full Cabinet past 10 years. This argument may meeting for debate. Defence chiefs help ministers rationalise rejection

But union and backbench presand appear prepared to write off sure has built up for the Tories to the expenditure incurred so far, to support Nimrod, despite the probobtain a system which meets their lems encountered by GEC in developing and costing the system. who were sacked by him in 1983 in One condition of US bids for the Some Conservative backbenchers, a "closed shop" dispute that led to airborne early warning system with local aerospace interests, over £900,000 court fines against (AEW) has been that the Ameri- have already pledged themselves the union and emergence of Mr

Warrington Messenger Group made a successful £5.3 million bid for the Warrington Guardian Group, a chain of 14 free and paid for newspapers.

Buying the Warrington Guardian Group meant that he had to abandon his 51 per cent stake in Today in order to avoid a reference to the Monopolies and Morgers

His spokesman said that Mr Shah's commitment to Today remained unaffected by the deal, even though his shareholding would drop below 25 per cent to avoid a reference. Internal sources at Today said

that Mr Shuh's stake would be as low as 10 per cent. Lonrho refused to confirm publicly that it had taken control of Today. Its previous stake had been 36 per cent Mr Shuh had lost formal execu-

Cassidy from Lonrho as managing Mr Cassidy has been scathing about the lack of managerial structures at the paper, although he has said the editor, Mr Brian MacAr-

thur, is ideal. closure in June by putting up £18 million while two other origina shareholders British and Commonwealth and Ivory and Sime each invested another £3 million.

The paper is believed to be still selling about 400,000 a day; well below the figure needed to break even. Senior editorial staff have been resigning from the paper at an alarming rute, although Mr

won control of the Warrington County Newspapers, which is owned by The Guardian and the Manchester Evening News.

Ironically, among the staff of Mr Shah's Warrington Guardian Group will be members of the National Graphical Association Shah on to the national stage.

# Nail-biting time for economy

the oil price, the gold price, and some industrial share prices - the went into the summer luli. But over the next few weeks the tempo financial world has not changed in any dramatic way during my three will pick up and those summer weeks' holidays in Scotland.

Those exceptions, too, are less the front again. Come the autumn than stunning. If the oil price has we will even begin to get some clambered back to the mid-teens all it has done is to correct the inevitable overshoot that had oc-

curred following the apring plunge.
The gold price? Well, all the markets have been doing there is recognising that whatever the nature of the inevitable political change in the world's largest gold The big plus is that the oil price producing country, there is likely cut will work. It will give the to be some danger of a restriction in supply which should be recognised in the present price. Add in the effect of the fall of the strongly by groups like the London dollar itself and you can argue that Business School, surely the best the present gold price still does not unit of its kind in the country, is give adequate cover for the uncer- that there is an inevitable time lag

And as for equity prices of some of our remaining "smoke stack" companies, again that was an adjustment which logically followed on the evident slowdown in struck it was some nine months industrial demand here in the UK before the economy responded in the first part of the year: the downwards. The events are not the

there is no reason to expect a fall But the big questions remain the in the oil price to take effect more

#### By Hamish McRae

same, and they relate to the global quickly than a rise. Expect reeconomic outlook. If that comes newed growth of a most respectbetter during the next 12 to 18 able nature to get under way this months a lot of our current worries autumn will, if not evaporate, at least become much more manageable. If imbalance between the surplus it does not then the summer and the deficit countries. Will it be ripples in the markets will seem a of a disruptive nature, when it trifle beside the storm to come.

economic boom that has lasted for place. more than about four years since the war and this present boom is their rough purchasing power parinow pretty long in the tooth. Can ties, though they will have to it go on much longer? For Britain and the whole European economy it has to if growth is to bite at all into the present unacceptable lev- consumer goods to the US has only els of unemployment.

some surprise to learn that we have been experiencing a boom at population was, even if its benefits were not unevenly distributed, and if the British version of the boom was more muted than that which our American cousins were seeing.

spring things changed. Economists may do a bit better or a bit worse the world over expected that the but we are kidding ourselves if we cut in the oil price would add believe that we can radically imsomething to economic activity over the next year or so. Suddenly a tired boom received a new lease

Better still, there was the tantalising prospect that the benign economic conditions of low in a slightly more favourable inflation which had been associated with the 1950s and 1960s might responded in suitably cheerful ic boom failed to materialise.

curred. We have already seen at best a pretty severe pause in economic growth worldwide, and at worst the start of a new recession. The downturn is most evident in the US, because that was where the growth had been most dramatic.

But other countries like Japan seemed to be suffering more from the rise of their imports. It was almost as though we were getting the worst of both worlds: slow US growth without a corresponding rise in Japanese and German. It was in that uncertain, even

apprehensive mood that the mar-

concerns will push themselves to

At this stage it is perhaps worth

noting a few plus and a few minus

points, which do seem clearer the

further you get away from the

Looking internationally there is

one big plus and-one big minus.

expected boost to the world econo-

between a big change in an eco-

nomic variable like the oil price

and the consequent response of the

When the previous oil shocks

mirror-image of each other, but

global economy.

hubbub of the markets.

kets (bar those minor adjustments)

The minus point is the global comes? Some of the preconditions For we have not seen a world for such an adjustment have taken

The currencies are now back to overshoot. But the slanting of the Japanese economy towards domestic output and away from selling just begun. Germany has been Indeed if you are north of the most hesitant at boosting its own Wash in Britain it might come as economy by cutting interest rates. And the US federal deficit remains as wide as ever, with no

all. But until the beginning of this reasonable indication that the new year at least the majority of the tax proposals (which are supposed to be revenue-neutral) will do anything about it. What happens to the world economy will of course be the dominant factor influencing what But that was last year. This will happen to the British one. We

> prove on the rest of the industrial But you can make a couple of minor points which, if right, would place UK markets, companies, and maybe even unemployment figures

. One would be the scope for a fall be resumed. The financial markets in UK interest rates, which do look quite out of line with those of the mood, until, that was, the econom- rest of the industrial world, given our inflation and balance of pay-In fact, rather the reverse oc- ments performance. If the US cuts interests rates again, so much the

> And a second would be the continued evidence that, at a consumer level, there is still plenty of demand in the UK.

But it will be a nail-biting time. We very much need that growth from the oil price cut. And we need the fall in demand for their exports a soft landing both for the dollar than they benefited from the cut in and, more generally, for the whole adjustment between surplus and deficit countries. The first may be more likely than the second, But at least we should have some inkling of the outcome as we move through

## THE WEEK

that it was prepared to accept on-site inapections in the Eastern bloc of

The offer, made at the opening of the nference, was regarded by many breakdelegates as an Important through. But US officials and arms control analysts warned against exces eive optimism in interpreting the initiative as signalling flexibility on wider leaves of arms control. "There is still work to do," said one official

Hawke, on Monday bitterly criticised the trade policies of the United States and the European Community. Opening a 14-nation conference of agricultura exporters in the northern Australian city of Cairns, Mr Hawke blamed the Community for corrupting world agri-

century, when the countries of Europe Hawke said. "Now, they are imposing a trade war on us."

olrcuit of the 1,300-megaWatt nuclear power station at Cattenom, 6 miles from the Luxembourg border. The Cattenon in September, may be delayed for

weeks or even months. The breach in the cooling circuit, which in this design of PWR would affect both reactors, was discovered workers outside the control building who reported flooding in the basement of the plant. No fault had been signalled in the control room, according to reports from the site. (Chernobyl report - page 7).

from Ethiopia, Uganda, and Chad lived believed to be dispersed. (Sudari's war

CAPTAIN Thomas Sankara, presiden of the small West African country of Burking Faso, abruptly dissolved his entire government last week and placed all state business in the hands of three general coordinators who are longtime lilitary associates. The dissolution came soon after the third anniversary of Burkina's "popular democratic revoution" proclaimed by Captain Sankara after a coup in 1983.

THE auburban Okiahoma community ( bloody record books of American homibefore the gunman shot himself. Vietnam veteran. Patrick Sherriff. 42. deapparently been warned the previous day by his supervisor that his part-time lob was in leopardy unless his performance improved.

CELAL Bayer, the former Turkish President who escaped a death sentence ofter a military junta overthrew him in 1960, died last week from heart failure,

OPPONENTS of Pakistan's president Mohammad Zia al-Hag stoned policemen and government buildings in Karachi last week while his supporters

from famine-stricken African neigh- when at least eight people were killed

more than 30 towns in Sind province. The opposition leader Mohamma Shah Amreti told reporters that at less 40 people were killed, 25 in Sind, the home province of the detained leader

the Pakistan People's Party Ms Benezi Bhutto, and 15 in Punish, Me Bhutto was arrested two weeks ago for defying a ban on political railles.

THE Iranian President, Mr All Khe menel, last week warned the Gulf states that. If they continued to support Iraq Ir its efforts to disrupt Iranian oil exports

theirs would be in jeopardy too. He derided calls for a peaceful settlement of the Gulf War, saving the were prompted by fears of an Irania viology and relterated accusations the "cartain regional states," the foremost presumebly Saudi Arabia and Kuwai had sesisted Iraq in its letest and ver damaging raid on the offshore

whose help Saddam (the trad) Presi dent) cannot carry out his mischief." h

had smashed a "terroriet network which it blamed for a series of born explosions in which 34 people died and 200 were wounded. The announcemen followed Wednesday's car-bomb blas in Tehran which killed 20 people.

CHINESE and Soviet troops clashed last month in a skirmish which left one dead along the border in Central Asia,

Both sides have filed protests ove the incident, which took piece on July 12 near the town of Korgas, in China's Xinileng province.

Thirteen Soviet border quards ing another. Two Chinese civilians were abducted and four horses stolen by the

# Black nations fail to agree By our own Reporters

nor the Southern African Develop- ism clearly does not ring true and ment Coordination Conference an- it is surely high time that he nounced any attempt to impose abandons his selfish motives and

que, which merely "commended" dent Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. orders were improperly promulgat-Both men have crusaded for ed and were invalid.

struggle in South Africa. summit of the Non-aligned Move- emergency regulations.

African cabinet minister boasted running of black schools. that the country had stockpiled The Government last month 'literally thousands of items" of cracked down on schools asm for sanctions.

Speaking at a business function in Phalaborwa, the Minister of for sanctions; measures which invariety of products".

Mr Du Plessis said it was time

united stand for sanctions against the patience of South Africans South Africa at two summit meet- with his antics and press conferences and on television is wearing Neither the six frontline states thin". The Bishop's "claim to altru-

desists from his patently transpar-The weak compromise communi- ent (sanctions) vendetta," he said Restrictions on press coverage of the tough sanctions package South African security force activireached at the Commonwealth ties were effectively lifted last mini-summit in London is seen week when state counsel for the as a bitter disappointment for Government, in a major court case Mr Robert Mugabe, the Prime over the validity of the emergency Minister of Zimbabwe, and Presi- regulations, conceded that key

sanctions despite the obvious prob- The effect of this development is lems for their countries, which that journalists in South Africa remain economically reliant on can, for the first time since the South African railways and ports. declaration of the state of emer-The two leaders have stressed that gency on June 12, explain some of sanctions are a moral and political the cryptic references which have obligation for majority-rule coun- been appearing in overseas reports tries, to assist the anti-apartheid as to what has been happening behind the "paper curtain" thrown The failure preceded this week's up across the country by the

ment which is expected to call for Probably the most important mandatory sanctions from Britain dimension which has gone largely unreported has been the involve-Earlier in the week, a South ment of troops and police in the

strategic goods in the last decade black townships - regarded by in preparation for the sanctions authorities as hot-beds of political onslaught. He coupled it with a unrest - by ordering pupils to re-warning that the South African register and to be issued with natience was "wearing thin" over identity cards. Stringent condi-Bishop Desmond Tutu's enthusi- tions were also imposed on atten-

The restrictions on schools were emphasised by events during the Manpower, Mr Piet du Plessis, said week in Soweto. One person was that the South African public shot dead and eight were injured could put their minds at rest that in clashes with the security forces. thorough provision had been made . According to the report from the township, security force personnel cluded "protecting the flow of in plain clothes were seen opening technology and know-how on a fire on children in a secondary

AFRICAN leaders failed to reach a that Bishop Tutu realised "that security forces had used birdshot and teargas to disperse 500 pubils at the school — allegedly stoning their vehicles - and that one man. Mr Maxim Gaga, aged 28, had died. Those injured were aged

> between 14 and 25. At the weekend plans to establish a second Soweto township near Johannesburg ran into fierce and acrimonious resistance from hundreds of whites. An angry crowd of 2,000 people, compose mainly of whites, was in no mood to hear why "orderly urbanisation" demanded a second Soweto to accommodate black people from overcrowded townships nearby.

# **Dissidents** reunited

By Arie Haskel in Jerusalem

THE mother and brother o Anatoly Shcharansky arrived in Israel on Monday night after finally being allowed to leave the Soviet Union.

"I want to be with my children," said Ida Milgrom Shcharansky's white-haired, 77-year-old mother as she arrived in her new homeland six months after her dissiden son left the USSR.

She, her elder son Leonid, his wife Rays and their two sons received exit visas last week and flew to Vienna at the weekend where Shcharansky met them and took them to Israel.

Leonid said he planned to make his home in Israel, although most Soviet Jewish emigrants settle outside Israel.

"I'm going to stay here," he said "I know for sure what I want is to have a good rest."

In Vienna, Shcharansky had asked Austrian security officials to keep reporters away from the room The bureau later confirmed that . where he met his family.

financial markets by announcing a budget deficit of A\$3,500 million (£1,458 million) — well below the A\$4,500 million (£1,875 million) widely predicted by economic commentators.

Initial reactions from the financial markets to the budget were favourable and the Australian dollar rose in foreign exchange markets. Some analysta believe, however, that while the budget could lose Labour the next election, it may not be tough enough to solve the country's economic crisis.

The Treasurer, Mr Keating, introduced his fourth budget amid rowdy demonstrations in Parliament. Australians, he said, would have to accept lower living standards in the short term to ensure a return to economic prosperity.

The budget cut A\$3,000 million (£1,250 million) off government spending and included A\$1,400 million (£538 million) in new taxes on petrol, wines, luxury cars, bank occounts, and health care.

normally regarded as sacrosant by the Labour Party. They included A\$500 million (£208 million) off the welfare budget; A\$300 million (£125 million) off the health budget, and the reintroduction of fees Keating's budget also included a commitment to seek real cuts in restraint was imposed, they point wages but there will be no wage

Inflation is predicted to be 8 per cent in 1986-87, still well above the rates of Australia's main trad-ing partners. This is largely due to the effect of the large depreciation in the Australian dollar, Economic and political analysts

welcomed the promise of a sharply reduced deficit and limits on government spending, but warned that they might not be realistic. The Opposition leader, Mr John Howard, attacked the budget as leaning too heavily on extra tax-

ation to generate the cut in the Mr Simon Crena, the president of the Australian Council of Trade restraint called for in the budget and the lack of stimulation for

# Uranium exports split party

THE senior adviser to the Austra- ago at the Labour Party's national lian Prime Minister has resigned conference. in protest at the Government's decision to lift a ban on uranium sume sales because of Australia's nuclear bomb is concerned, one exports to France. The decision has growing balance-of-payments cricreated an uproar in the ruling sis. It will save \$100 million over Labour Party, and the leftwing of the next three years in compensathe party is now planning a tion payments to an Australian national campaign to force the uranium company. Government to reverse its deci-

Mr Bob Hawke's senior adviser, Mr Bob Hogg, was not consulted before the cabinet decided to lift the ban, and later argued strongly that it should be revoked. Mr Hogg has been a leading member of the party's left wing for many years.

France being regarded as the most Gareth Evans, said that, because commitment to nuclear disarma- stances, the Government had no ment. A leader of the Parliamen- choice but to lift the ban. "I tary Labour Party's left wing, acknowledge that the decision was Senator Bruce Childs, has accused made in 1983, not in any serious Mr Hawke of "urinating from the belief that it would influence

THE destruction of the South

Korean airliner with the loss of

The doomed Boeing 747's crew

was off-course, possibly because of

a series of blunders by the plane's — only analysed urgent Soviet

crow and by the Soviet military, communications on the topic when

Noither Soviet nor US charges of many explanations for what

against each other over the inci- rapidly became one of the most

dent are vindicated. But nor does traumatic incidents between the

an error in mistaking a single digit which are to be summarised by the

in the coordinates needed to plot author in the next edition of

the correct flight path. The inertial Atlantic Montly. Mr Hersh, who

misprogrammed on three provious Vietnam and has long been a

KAL flights which had to be radical critic of much of US foreign

aborted. For their part, the Rus- policy, was apparently provided

oither emerge with unsullied cred- superpowers in recent years.

according to the latest book on the it was too late to warn the aircrast.

The left wing of the party has been enraged that the Government should take such a decision deflance of party policy, which is normally binding on the Govern-

Mr Hawke defended his cabinet's decision, and stressed that he The export of Australian urani- would not be swayed by emotion or um has been an emotional issue the special pleading of particular within the Labour Party, with the interest groups. The Minister for ban on uranium shipments to Resources and Energy, Senator important test of the government's of Australia's economic circumgreat height of his ego" on govern- France's behaviour, but because it was felt that some kind of moral The uranium ban was instituted gesture had to be made. We could in 1983 in protest at French afford to make that gesture in nuclear testing in the Pacific, and 1983. But short-term pressures was reaffirmed only four weeks have forced us to change it."

By Michael White in Washington

This is the conclusion of the latest

It has been produced after two

years' research for a book by

Soymour Hersh, the conclusions of

exposed the My Lai massacre in

# Deeper questions behind tests

behind the East-West debate over call a temporary halt while he puts instructions. ending nuclear tests which pressure on Reagan. deepens every time Mr Gorbachev announces another extension

in Nevada, one of which was carried out in cooperation with the

Americans are determined to carry on. The White House has repeated its conclusion, based on the military advice it chooses to take, that the Soviet military's appetite for whatever Gorbachev may say, it would not be in the security interests of the United States or its allies to follow his example. While nuclear deterrence continues to be to check the reliability of existing

The official technical advice being offered to Mrs Thatcher's warheads may well be of a simpler, The Government decided to re- something as fundamental as a faith in computer simulation.

So if this is the official advice, both scientific and military, being at Aldermaston why he must be given to the two Western govern- free to go on testing and he will ments, what is the Kremlin being shift the responsibility to the leaders throughout Nato who see a told? Is Gorbachev receiving differ- military. Our armed forces may comprehensive test ban as the ent advice or is he ignoring, at need a new weapon, he will tell

The cynical answer, of course, is that the Soviet leader is simply Western public opinion, in a way cessors would not have attempted. Halting nuclear tests is a dramatic way of emphasising the USSR's desire to put an end to the nuclear arms race, putting the United States on the defensive in the arms control negotiations and perhaps squeezing some concessions out of President Reagan when they meet for their summit talks later this year. The Russians, after all, have completed some major programmes of nuclear modernisation, of which the new SS-20 missiles targeted on Western Europe, are a notable Blunders blamed for KAL disaster

Unlike some other theorists of

the fate of KAL 007 as it flew over

sensitive Soviet military installa-

tions towards Seoul, Mr Hersh

subscribes to the cock-up theory.

Russians shot the plane down,

knowing civilians were on board.

that the fighter sent to shoot it

# THERE is a technical mystery example. Gorbachev can afford to what it says in the operating

All this may be true. Some of it

By the end of this year, when the time for the Soviet warhead engi- ever used the war will have been Soviet moratorium expires, the neers to have to down tools, but Russian scientists will have been their technical assessment of what require that he goes through the for university students. Mr unable to test any weapons for a nuclear deterrence requires in the period of 16 months. And since this longer term is still crucial. Do they war so as to deter the enemy; and share the controversial White out, their opposite numbers in the House view that you cannot United States have already deto- dispense with testing? What if nated 18 underground explosions Gorbachev's bluff were to be

There are several possibilities We know quite clearly why the Soviet position. One is that even

#### By David Fairhail

nuclear weaponry is temporarily

If a nuclear test ban has strategic advantages for the Soviet Union — for example in restrainthe basis of Western and Soviet ing the wilder excesses of Reagan's defence, the Reagan administra- Star Wars programme - it need tion argues, some underground not go on for ever. It could be mittee could perhaps provide. Betesting will always be necessary signed for a five or ten year period, cause if it holds good, there is no Unions, said that unionists would both to develop new weapons and though there will always be some political price to pay for resuming anyone else continuing to pretend tests unilaterally.

Another factor is that Soviet government, and the sort of line more robust design - in keeping you would get from the Defence with their engineering style else-Secretary, Mr George Younger, if where — that requires less testing you were to ask for his views, is than the complex, miniaturised exactly the same. It goes back to a American devices. Or the Russians scientific conviction that where may be more ready to put their

In the West there is a circular must be absolutely sure. The com- argument on this question which puter's calculations must always must be broken if the Foreign Office sincerely wants to re-open test ban negotiations. Ask the man least for the time being, what he you, even beyond Trident. And being military men, they will want negotiators are trying to unravel to be absolutely sure it works and and stop the nuclear arms race

Now ask the military's representative the same question, and he surely is. But that is not the end of will pass the buck to the politilast week's was the third — of the the argument, as Congress, if not cians. As a soldier, he will tell you, Parliament, clearly understands. he does not regard nuclear bombs Sixteen months is not really a long as fighting weapons. If they are not want to make promises he

Now turn to the politician. He passes the buck back to the scientists — the high-powered boffins that could have a bearing on the from Aldermaston whose advice is far too technical to be ignored, or discussed in public. Even if we never needed a new weapon, he will assure you, there is something he does not understand involving unstable bomb-making materials that makes it necessary to check the old ones on the shelf occasion-

This circle of reasoning needs thorough testing of a kind the they would love to re-open comprehensive test ban negotiations if only the remaining problems r Attention could then be shifted to lowering the upper yield limit for underground tests, currently set at 150 kilotons of TNT equivalent.

The fact is there are scientists in the United States who do not accept that nuclear weapons mus be batch-tested for reliability There are soldiers in this country complicated knots the arms control that the explosive yield is precisely before it gets to the finishing post.

# West German Socialists want to phase out nuclear power

By Jonathan Steele in Nuremberg

has been approved by the Socialists, West Germany's main opposiplank in the party's platform for and trade unions. January's general election

The SPD faces an uphill task in which appear to keep a better he would go on to prove their expected to be a tough campaign- generating electricity. 269 lives high over the Sea of track on Soviet radar intercepts contention that the CIA was in- ing autumn.

The anti-nuclear platform was sparked by the Chernobyl disaster. The party promptly appointed a 14-man team under a former minister of research, Mr Volker Hauff, to work out a timetable to phase At the time, Washington said the out nuclear power.

After two months of debates, the Moscow said it was being used for gramme under which the first intelligence purposes. Mr Herah, reactors could be switched off who also had access to US within the next two years. A much National Security Agency data, stricter conservation of electricity found that the Russians had some is envisaged, together with a gradtrouble finding KAL007 on its two ual phasing out of electricity for penetrations of their airspace and heating.

The main alternative to nuclear down did not make a visual power must be solar energy, the didentification before unleashing SPD report says. Today is not the sions mistook it for a spy plane, with rare access to the Soviet his missiles, middle of the nuclear age, but the Alleganis to the first and the section of the secti

PROGRAMME for phasing out beginning of the solar age." Desall nuclear power within 10 years pite its relatively fast timetable for giving up nuclear energy, the report takes a sober line, tion party, at their party recognising that the party cannot conference here this week. The just legislate but will have to win programme is likely to be a central over state and local authorities,

It also recognises that closing nuclear power stations will create trying to remove Chancellor Kohl, short term bottlenecks. There will American listening posts — version of events in the hope that effect, marks the start of what is the use of coal, oil, and gas for

The report accepts that this will involve some increase in costs about £3.50 per household a month, and about 10 per cent for industry's energy bill. The report points out that householders, in effect, now subsidise industry by paying higher tariffs for energy. switch to other energy sources will team has come up with a pro- provide about 80,000 new jobs, it estimates. This will make up for the loss of roughly 50,000 jobs in the nuclear industry.

The state of the state of

The SPD programme, the first to be adopted by a leading West European party since Sweden developed one after an anti-nuclear referendum some years ago, is designed to distinguish the party from the Greens to its left and the Government to its right. the property of the state of th

THE GUARDIAN, August 31, 1986

THE Charnobyl disaster has forced the Russians to consider locating nuclear power stations away from populated areas, the head of the Soviet Atomic Committee, Mr Andranin Petrosyants, said last week.

The accident at the Ukrainian plant in April has "hurt the Soviet nuclear power programme badly," he added, but the lessons had to be heeded.

Many Soviet stations have been built near towns but the committee chairman said this policy was being reviewed, along with the stations' output and other problems.

The deputy director of the leading Soviet nuclear power institutute, Mr Valery Legasov, added that they were also considering some means of preventing power station engineers overriding safety mechanisms because the Chernobyl accident was almost entirely the

Moscow press conference to present industry's report on the disaster to the International Atomic Energy Agency. The agency has called a conference starting this week to consider the accident.

Mr Legasov's remark about overriding safety systems refers more specifically to a list of six crucial errors disclosed in the report, including removing most of the reactor's control rods, switching off automatic shutdown and power level controls, and shutting off the emergency cooling

Radiation levels around the wrecked No. 4 reactor are still "several roentgens per hour." the head of the Soviet environmental to the IAEA indicates that the Russians are been buried in concrete. The committee chairman did not specify

contamination levels in the surrounding countryside. But he did say that Kiev's drinking water supply may have been slightly contaminated, though within acceptable health standards. The Ukrainian capital is about 80 miles south of the Chernoby

A new total of 135,000 people evacuated was given - an increase on the previous figure of 92,000 cleared from within an 18mile radius. This may reflect the later discovery of radioactive "hot spots" outside the immediate areas.

The Soviet Ambassador in Britain, Mr aonid Zamvatin, appeared to rule out any payments to British farmers for heavy losses auffered because of the Chernobyl fail-out. He told a press conference at the Soviet

serious damage had been done to "the territory of Britain."

The Foreign Office is studying whether it is possible in international law to pass on the bill for the farmers' losses, put by the National Farmers' Union at £3 a week for every lamb that had to be kept on farms because of radiation levels - a total of £10

Mr Zamyatin said those making comcosts we have paid in order to save the other countries." He added: "We have paid an enormous price. We have sacrificed a great number of lives."

Britain is boosting its stocks of radiationtesting geiger counters following the Chernobyl disaster. The Home Office and Ministry of Defence are spending £2 million on 20.000

# Chernobyl: countdown to catastrophe David Fairhall reports on the Soviet version

A DETAILED Soviet report submitted to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna for this week's conference on the Chernobyl disaster puts the blame squarely on the engineers who were on duty at the Ukrainian nuclear power station that night. But it also acknowledges indirectly - by listing a series of planned modifications — that the Soviet reactor's design made it particularly vulnerable to certain operating

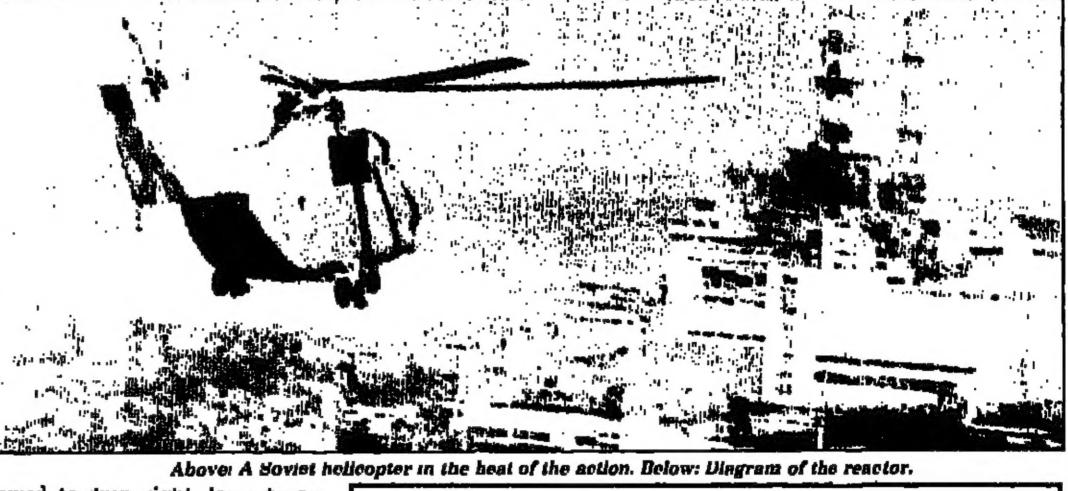
The accident led from an operating experiment which went dreadfully wrong, according to the Soviet account. What the report to the IAEA does not fully explain is been conducting the experiment in the first place.

days' time. The bureaucratic dispersed. nature of the Soviet system no doubt made these pressures worse, and in the end the shift engineer efforts to rush the job through.

Ironically, the aim of the experiment seems to have been to test the safety of the Chernobyl instalsee how long the residual energy continue to run key auxiliary equipment like the reactor cooling water numbs when its steam supply was suddenly cut off — for something like a minute perhaps. They had tried this before, and extremely rapidly. This time, it seems, they were doing the same experiment with a voltage regula-

they may have known a lot about safety rules in six different ways, grid, it was away. including removing too many of the control rods needed to shut the shift manager to realise that somereactor down in an emergency. shutting off automatic controls and the automatic shutdown mechanism, and switching on too many cooling pumps. Preparations for the experiment

had begun the previous afternoon. only to be cancelled at the request run home of their own accord, but of the grid supervisor — a delay that probably made conditions inside the reactor less favourable for tor were already falling on to the the second attempt. The first stage was to lower No. 4 reactor's power output to about 700-1.000 by now under manual control, was modelling to prepare their account.



STEAM DRUMS

allowed to drop right down to an Reading between the lines, one output of no more than 30 senses the everyday pressures that megawatts. This was eventually any power station engineer would restored to about 200 megawatts be subject to - the grid supervisor and stabilised, but it was still well who asked for the experiment to be short of the output planned for the delayed by 12 hours, because it experiment. It had also allowed involved shutting down one reac- the reactor to become "poisoned" tor's two turbine generators; the with xenon gas - a condition shift engineer who decided to press which, had the engineers been less on when things began to go wrong, impatient, would normally have rather than shut the reactor down prompted them to shut the reactor altogether and start again in two down until the poisoning had But on this occasion, for reasons

they decided to press on "at all costs". Two standby cooling water pumps were switched on - apparently so as to have four of the total eight connected to the turbine under test — and this altered the lation. The engineers wanted to balance of water and steam in the circuit. The vertical control rods, water filled pressure tubes and their enclosed fuel elements in this type of boiling water reactor, responded automatically by withdrawing. But this was not enough to keep the poisoned reactor critical, and the operator manually withdrew them still further.

That was perhaps the crucial act Only eight rods were left inserted. instead of the minimum of 30 running turbines, seem to have and even they were not in the little idea what dangerous games right pattern to do their job they were playing with the efficiently. The reactor was set to RBMK-1000 reactor. Before disas- take off, and at 01.23, when the managed to violate their own generator disconnected from the

thing was terribly wrong. He ordered the control rods that would back in, but they stopped before they were right down. "Banging noises" were heard. The clutches were disconnected to allow them to by then it was too late. Burning fragments from the exploding reacturbine hall.

Precisely what happened deep eyer know. Even the Russians standard Soviet RBMK reactor cooled by water passed through to drive the turbines - known technically as "positive void coeffi-

output of the ractor increases, producing still more steam, and even more activity. This dangerous spiral can only be interrupted by some intervention, such as inserting control rods that absorb the neutrons emitted by the uranium

It took only 36 seconds for the above and finally crashed down, down through the reactor floor - cal effects. rupturing more cooling circuits. the so-called China syndrome that Then a secondary process took over, as zirconium fuel cladding reacted with the steam to produce States. Nevertheless, the Soviet hydrogen. This mixed with the air and exploded into a series of 30 separate fires. Finally the graphite nitrogen cooling system under the blocks built into the core as a building. "moderator", to make the reaction more efficient, also began to overheat and burn away.

It was the graphite fire we heard so much about in the days following the accident, but the Soviet account emphasises that this was essentially a steam explosion. A great plume of hot radioactive gas and debris soared into the sky and

taminate towns and farmlands from which 135,000 people were eventually evacuated (an advance on a previous figure of 92,000). Thirty-one people have already died from the accident, officials announced in Moscow last week. and 203 have suffered from various degrees of radiation sickness. Fourteen patients are still in hospital with radiation burns covering 80-90 per cent of their

**BOILING WATER** 

PRESSURE TUBE

GRAPHITE MODERATED

REACTOR

Temperatures inside the reactor rose quickly to about 2,000 degrees was so much feared after the Three Mile Island accident in the United engineers prepared for the worst by trying to insert an additional

The follow-up measures outlined in the report make especially interesting reading. The first, determined and courageous move was to dump thousands of tons of sand, lead, boron, dolomite and clay through the roof of the reactor building to seal the breach, damp down the reaction, and filter the escaping fission products. Gaps were left to allow for some air

The engineers' long-term aim however, is still to encase the damaged reactor in thick concrete shielding so as to enable the other three reactors on the Chernobyl site to start up again. In addition, delegates to next week's conference will be told about a series of modifications to the RBMK design the Russians propose to introduce retrospectively — inevitably at considerable expense.

More control rods will be installed to damp down power surges, and on the edge of the reactor core they will be inserted to a greater depth. Better controls - some of which were in this instance overridden to allow the turbine experiment to proceed will also be fitted. And most fundamentally, the Russians have indicated that they will try to reverse the positive void coefficient that allows the RBMK to run away by increasing the uranium fue enrichment with the active 235 isotope from 2.0 to 2.4 per cent

The Soviet account makes no mention of any military experiment, about which there has been speculation in the West. Initial reaction from the few British nuclear engineers who have so far had a chance to read the long report - delivered untranslated to government missions — is that it sounds entirely plausible, with as much detail as one could expect on most aspects of the accident, and given the scale of the disaster, not unduly delayed.

This week in Vienna, expert delegations from all the IAEA countries will have a chance to question their Soviet colleagues about aspects that still are not clear -- for example why the C. fell, and rose again as the experiment was considered so imgraphite began to oxidise. But the portant. The conference will be At Chernobyl intervention was Russians still maintain that the organised in four working groups too late. Steam pressure burst the uranium fuel itself did not melt. dealing with accident sequence cooling tubes. The heavy machine Much of it was blown apart by the follow-up measures, the emerused to refuel the reactor began to explosions, but it did not form into gency procedures and evacuation. "leap up and down" on the floor a molten ball that burnt its way and the environmental and medi-

As far as the implications for Britain's nuclear power programme are concerned, many people will no doubt draw the basic lesson that the operation of a nuclear reactor has once again been shown to be vulnerable to human error. The nuclear industry In all, the IAEA conference itself, however, will probably draw report indicates that about 100 comfort from the fact in this million curies of radioactivity were country, human error would hard released into the atmosphere - ly be multiplied on such a scale that is about 31/2 per cent of the and that our reactor designs are reactor's total inventory - includ- different, without the RBMK's ing all the gaseous fission pro- particular vulnerability. The PWR ducts, about 20 per cent of the they want to build at Sizewell, it lodine and 10 per cent of the will be pointed out, has a negative void coefficient, not a positive one.

W-7

Amid the milling herds it is easy to spot the high horns of what the dealers say are "Bahr Al Ghaza cattle" from a Sudanese region 500 miles away. Observers claim, however, that they are from among more than 250,000 cattle stolen in an ever more bloody proxy war of weapon, rape as a tactic, and destruction of traditional societies as the apparent strategy for vic-

tell-tale twist at the tip of one creating an Islamic constitution. horn, formed by cutting it as it grows, on which men of the south's the mutiny defected to create the largest tribe, the two million- SPLA military machine. John strong Dinka, hang decorations to Garang de Moibor, a Christian distinguish their most valued pos- Dinka with an American Ph.D. in session, the Song Bull, to which rural development, won Menthey sing hymna of praise.

Young Dinka are the main troops of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, whose war for a "united accialist Sudan with religious freedom and regional autonomy" is being supported by Ethiopia in the hope of forcing Sudan to halt its help for Eritrean and Tigrayan secessionists. The SPLA was born out of southerners' suspicions of the Muslim majority's aggressive intentions. Kept separate by colonial Britain in the African federation to hold back Islam, the region slipped into its

ing grew, costing perhaps half a Juba's first line of defence. million lives, preventing southern economy, until two new leaders it has created. This is the wella coup in 1969. But their 1972 peace deal allowing a measure of southern autonomy slowly collapsed as recession made development promises worthless.

In 1983, a small southern troop mutiny produced the political

# Sudan's war of secession

militias and irregulars fighting Nimeiri imposed Islamic Sharia along tribal lines with food as a law - with punishments of flogging for possessing alcohol and hand amputation for theft — on people of all religions. He also divided up the land to eliminate Some of the Souk cattle have the Dinka dominance and talked of The army officer sent to quell

gistu's backing to set up bases in Ethiopia. After three years of grinding guerrilla warfare, Sudan's dispirited army is largely confined to garrison towns, while the SPLA roams seemingly at will across much of the Upper Nile and Bahr Al Ghazal regions and has

local Mundari tribe, whose 1,000-For 17 years secessionist fight- nition, suffered heavy casualties as cattle are also the SPLA's main camps near the oilfields.

In Bahr Al Ghazal, the army defence force is claimed to include gangs of hundreds of men raiding

between north and south has dren." He added: "Hunger is at the Neither government shows signs always seen conflict between Arab highest peak in the town of Wau. of cutting support for liberation

Sudan Omdurman, Khartoum El Obeld. 

parties have conducted scorched is on the verge of extinction." earth attacks on towns and vil-

In Khartoum

reports on a

worsening

source of food.

The Bahr Al Ghazal river border and abduction of women and chil- talks.

nomads and Dinka cattle herders. Seeds planted are scratched out at For a year, Messeriya raiding night by other people for food. Life

Destabilising Dinka society to lages around the regional capital empty the countryside and remove the SPLA's food-on-the-hoof would Local chiefs consistently claim give the newly elected government pressed into the southernmost the Messeriya rape and abduct of the Prime Minister, Sadiq El women, torture the men, destroy Mahdi, a greater chance of success The present rebel offensive on food stocks and water boreholes, in what must be its main, if not Equatoria's capital, Juba, demon- and kill anyone in their way before sole, objective in the south: to strated the development of the driving off all livestock. The entire regain control of the Bentiu oilproxy war, with initial attacks by structure of Dinka life revolves fields from the SPLA. In recent armed Dinka irregulars rather around cattle, so the theft of more weeks yet another of the armed than SPLA regulars, while the than 250,000 livestock is more tribal militias, the Anyanya II. damaging in its impact even than whose Nuer membership is tradifirst guerrilla war as independence strong militia buys its own weap- the loss of the millions of pounds tionally antagonistic to Dinka, ons but receives army ammu- they fetch in Omdurman. Such claimed to have destroyed SPLA

While Khartoum needs control Thousands have fled north or to over the oilfields to boost its progress and sapping the north's also takes a back seat to a militia overcrowded towns where food sup- creditworthiness in the face of found power - rebel chief Joseph armed force of the Messeriya, Arab report from Wau, Bishop Joseph Juba push appeared timed to Nyekindi wrote that wherever the pressurise Sadiq El Mahdi during Messeriya or bandits appear, the Organisation of African Unity "there is loss of properties and summit in Addis Ababa, where deep into the territory of their cattle, burning of houses and Sudan and Ethiopia held talks and stores, killing of innocent civilians Sadiq met Garang in inconclusive

will turn into another Lebanon."

THE GUARDIAN, August 31, 1986

movements. Even if Garang was free of Ethiopian influence, Sadiq's IF YOU wish to rewrite history, you must recent announcements offer no reassurance for southern fears first eliminate those who made it. That was with declarations of the Sharia's the objective of the Moscow show trials reformation (not abolition), and which opened on August 19, 1936, with the that an Islamic constitution will be indictments against Zinoviev, Kamenev, introduced reflecting his need to and 14 of their old revolutionary comrades. counter the influence of the funda-The 50th anniversary of the world's most mentalist National Islamic Front infamous miscarriage of justice deserves opposition party which is strong some recognition, not only because it was within the army, the visible tip of an iceberg of terror which While peace prospects remain immersed more victims than Hitler's holocaust, but in memory of those defendants poor, civilians are suffering. Aid whose innocence the Soviet Union can still agencies warn that at least two not bring itself to acknowledge. million could face starvation in the

THE GUARDIAN, August 31, 1986

south as the conflict spreads. Child

malnutrition rates in some areas

are already reaching levels only

exceeded in Sudan during the

worst of the northern drought.

Instability makes relief efforts

almost impossible in Upper Nile

and Bahr Al Ghazal, but charities

have formed the Combined Agen-

cies' Relief Team to truck food out

from Juba to surrounding villages.

hundred tonnes a week when

estimates for the south's needs go

beyond 90,000 tonnes. Cart's ef-

forts call for a tightrope act to

terviewed in Juba, Equatoria's

avoid government interference. In-

military governor, Major-General

Peter Cirillo, praised efforts to

reach and feed remote villages; 10

minutes later he showed greate

enthusiasm for stockpiling food it

areas under military control. But

the military's reach continues to

recede, and Cirillo confirmed Ethi-

opians have begun flying supplies

into SPLA-controlled airstrips in

There appears to be no "hearts

and minds" effort by either side.

During the SPLA push on Jula

the army did not prevent defeated

Mundari from slaughtering un-

armed Dinka, while suspected

SPLA supporters ambushed and

killed four Sudanese aid workers

whose agency distributes food re-

lief to civilians. By relying on

tribal loyalties, or buying them

with bullets, and attempting to cut

opponents' food supplies, the army

and SPLA soom determined to

fulfil one southern politician's de-

spairing forecast two years ago

that "if something isn't done, this

Although it is moving only a few

The reason why once-brave Bolsheviks participated in orgies of grovelling confessions to crimes they could never have committed remains one of the great enigmas of modern history: the techniques which procured those confessions and the mechanics of the "show trial" which gave them credence have not been exorcised from the criminal justice systems of countries far removed in time from the Moscow of Stalin's manic purges.

The remains of Andrei Vyshinsky, prosecutor and choreographer of the show trial charades. lie in the wall of the Kremlin reserved for the ashes of Soviet heroes. The author of The Problem of Evaluation of Proof in Criminal Trials went on to become Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations and Minister for Foreign Affairs. To this time-serving lawyer, who had opposed the October 1917 Revolution, fell the task of exterminating most of that revolution's remaining heroes. They were shot in the back of the head in the Lubianka prison, 50 of them after public confessions at the three Moscow trials, the rest after secret summary convictions.

Vyshinsky's most notable victim was Nicolai Bukharin, draftsman of the Soviet constitution and the most influential Bolshevik theorist and politician after Lenin a moderate and comparatively humane Socialist whose crime of opposition to Stalin's "Gengis Khan plan" of brutal collectivisation was transformed at his trial into guilt of treason, sabotage and murder.

Ironically it was Bukharin who in 1918 had presented the politburo with an "Anti Thermidorian Catechism" designed to prevent the very fratricide within the party to which he later fell victim. Lenin tore it up: "If any of us were ever to be tempted to settle our differences by means of the guillotine, then God have mercy upon us . . . it is a childish idea that we could stop or forestall so fatal a development with the help of a sheet of paper like this."

Twenty years later, Bukharin stood in the Moscow dock arraigned on fantastic charges, including an attempt to assassinate Lenin. "It must be said." he answered Vyshinsky at one point "for the sake of historical exactitude . . ." "Don't trouble to speak for history, accused Bukharin." snapped the prosecutor. "History itself will itself record what will be interesting for

The historical record of these massive frame-ups was slow to set itself straight. The testimony at the Moscow trials was accorded considerable credulity throughout the world. At the first trial, the 16-year-old Bolsheviks spent the week before their execution elaborately and even enthusiastically confessing to treason, terrorism and spying for Axis powers at the instigation of Protaky. Extracts from the interrogation of Zinoviev and Kamenev, Lenin's close lieutenants, gives the flavour of the pro-

Kamenev: I, together with Zinoviev and Trotsky, organised and guided this terrorist conspiracy. I had become convinced that Stalin's policy was successful and victorious yet we were actuated by boundless hatred and by lust for power . . .

Vyshinsky: You have expressed your loyalty to the party in various articles and statements. Was all this deception on your

Kameney: No. it was worse than Vyshinsky: Perfidy?

Kameney: Worse than that Vyshinsky: Worse than deception? Worse than perfidy? Then, find a word for it.

Treason? Kameney: You have found the word. Vyshinsky: Defendant Zinoviev, do you confirm this?

Zinoviev: Yes I do. Treason, perfidy double dealing.

And so it went on, an orchestrated litany of lying which reached its cresceudo in Vyshinsky's concluding remarks to the, bench: "I demand that the mad dogs be shot! Every one of them should be shot." Almost

Fifty years ago, the Russian Revolution began publicly to devour its own children. Geoffrey Robertson examines the trial of Bukharin and the legacy of Stalin's rough justice

# The day of the mad dogs

all of them were, at that and subsequent show trials in January 1937 and March 1938. Meanwhile, countless others suspected of belonging to "the enemy within" received the early morning knock on the door which led swiftly and secretly to execution: the purges between 1936-39 claimed the lives of several million victims from every strata of Soviet society. They destroyed all opposition to Stalin within the party, decimated the leadership of the army and swelled the labour camps with political

On the day of his execution Bukharin, who had been the chief defendant at the last of the trials, wrote a final letter to Stalin. "Why," he asked "do you need me to die . . .?" Some historians have found the answer in Stalin's personal paranoia - and indeed one British trial observer, Fitzroy Maclean, claims to have noticed "the familiar features and heavy drooping moustache peering out from behind the black glass of a small window, high up under the ceiling of the courtroom." Recent studies see "Stalin's terror" as a more chaotic and spontaneous wave of revolutionary puritanism, not directed from above although certainly deriving its momentum from the conspiracy theories paraded by Vyshinsky at the Moscow trials.

Bukharin tabove left) wrote to Stalin asking: "why do you need me to die?"

understandable: in the West, it now seems unforgivable. The confidence trick succeeded, however, because it adhered to the forms of legality: the trials were open and before judges, the defendants were entitled to lawyers and their confessions in custody had been signed and then repeated under Vyshinksy's dogged but (with the exception of Bukharin) reasonable questioning, D. N. Pritt, KC, MP, the distinguished human rights advocate wrote an instant influential pamphlet pronouncing the Moscow trials fair. As Neil McLean, MP, said in a foreword to the published transcript of the second trial: "Practically every foreign correspondent present at the trial has expressed himself as very much impressed by the weight of the evidence presented by the prosecution and the sincerity of the confessions of the accused." Harry Pollitt exalted at Bukharin's execution - "A gigantic conspiracy has been unfolded in the trial. There is no need to amplify or explain the evidence — it speaks for Itself." Many of Britain's leftwing intelligentsia

suspended all disbelief. Although the Manchester Guardian, to its credit, remained dubious. The Times editorially congratulated Stalin on consolidating his conservative rule. So why did 54 leading Bolsheviks. most of them veterans of the Czar's prisons who had risked death in the revolution.

unnecessary that the ideological errors of men engaged in a controversy be proved . . . the only proof of guilt used, against all norms of current legal science, was the confession which were acquired through physical pressures against the accused." There is no doubt that Stalin's secret

demonstrations in 1937 demanding their

death) put it all down to cruel and inhuman

tortures. "Stalin originated the concept of

'enemy of the people' " he explained in

1956. 'This term automatically rendered it

police, the NKVD used forms of torture which could break mon incarcerated in the Lubianka for many months before their trial. Besanov, who proved the basic link between the "left" Trotskyites of the first trial and the "right" Bukharinites of the third, did so after 17 days on "the conveyor" — a disorientation technique in which lack of food and sleep together with physical discomfort alternate with interrogation sessions to enhance suggestibility and

But torture is all too simple an explanation for the willing, even enthusiastic, participants in the show trials. The "conveyor" may have broken some down at the boginning, and physical violence readily extracts signatures on pre-written statements, but no amount of ill-treatment could

Credulity in Russia at the time is have motivated the actors through months of rehearsal, or have made them afraid to

> speak the truth, a few days before their certain death, when they stood before the public microphone in front of dozens The bully boy explanations provided Khrushchev cannot be the full story. more subtle theory, imaginatively developed by Arthur Koestler in Darkness at (Bukharin) has it that Vyshinsky, behind the scenes, played upon their ultimate loyalty to the ideals of the Revolution. At a time of national danger, with the country threatened by hositile powers already flexing their fascist muscles in Spain, public confession by opposition politicians to treasonable links with both Trotsky and Axis countries would serve to rally the people behind the Government. The defendants were already defeated mon, with no political future: all they could offer was this "last service" to a revolution which had left them

But these men sincerely believed that Stalin had hijacked their revolution, that the cult personality which had grown up about him was a perversion of the legacy of Marx and Lenin, and that his theory of increasing conspiratorial resistance to the achievement of socialism was, as Bukharin had argued in 1928, "idiotic illiteracy

the carrot which made them overlook the executioner's stick.

To read the transcripts of the Moscow trials today is to marvel at how completely the defendants had come to live their own lies. They were caught up in their own drama, as if participation in the proceedings had become a purpose in itself - they were actors in a play and they wanted it to succeed. They were angry when their old friend Krestinsky briefly fluffed his lines by pleading "not guilty"; when Bukharin refused to stick to the script they bitterly interjected to denounce him. There was a group psychology at work, not an ideology or a terror, as they rose to play their rehearsed roles in the imaginary scenario.

Vyshinksy's technique for turning thought into crime, and criticism of Stalin into treason, was first to establish defendant's oppositionalist attitude at an earlier time. The defendant was then asked to create incidents - meetings and discussions with others of similar attitude - and then to accept that those meetings had led to the formation of conspiratorial blocs, which had in turn organised spying and sabotage.

Clearly, over the long months of backstage rehearsal, an alternative history had been fabricated: not what actually happened, but what might have happened had political opposition been taken to barely conceivable extremes. Strands of demonstrable fact — an internal party discussion. a policy disagreement, an abortive alliance were elevated by hypothetical stages into a final scenario in which the oppositionalists became spies, saboteurs

and murderers. Vyshinsky and his band of interrogators would extract confessions from defendants individually, and then stage "confrontations" so that groups of them could imagine how they might have Long months of solitary confinement

relieved only by role-playing periods in which they could contribute creatively to the unfolding "faction", must have produced a dynamic of its own powerful enough to see them through the public performance. Those who did not enter into the spirit of this prison exercise "disappeared" - were summarily tried and shot - itself an inducement to the others to polish and embellish their parts. By the time the trial opened, each group of defendants had come to accept that they had no other purpose than to help to project a fable for which, in a sense, they really were responsible: they had helped to construct it by imagining the hypothetical consequences of their earlier opposition to Stalin.

The show trial liquidated men for the crime of opposing Stalin: it justified their executions by a colossal pretence that they had been guilty of crimes of murder, spying and sabotage. The prosecution case bore the usual tell-tale examples of falsification tone plot was hatched in a foreign hotel on a precise date — some months after the hotel had in fact been demolished). The German and Italian diplomatic records, opened after the war. disproved the confessions of conspiratorial contracts.

It was incredible that Bukharin would have joined forces with his old enemies, the Trotakyites, and secretly conspired with those fascist powers against whom he had spent much of his time as editor of Izvestia penning polemics. It was a measure of the success of the first two trials that Vyshinsky could have the audacity to level those charges, and even to accuse Bukharin of plotting to assassinate Lenin, who had apoken of him as a son, as "the party's most valuable theoretician . . . rightly considered the favourite of the whole party."

Bukharin, of course, was a special case He was not immune from the psychological pressures on the other defendants - he pleaded guilty and accepted responsibility for all consequences of his opposition to Stalin — but he alone resisted all the specific charges of criminality and used the proceedings as: a platform to explain his views. He walked a terrifying intellectual tightrope, in consequence of a plea bargain whereby he agreed to confess sufficient to justify his execution while retaining just enough latitude to signal his true nnocence.

Given the constraints under which it was made, Bukharin's final plea deserves an honourable place in the literature of political trials. In the thousands of pages of hysterical polemic from the prosecution and equally hysterical breast-beating by the abase themselves by falsely confessing to the result will be the military/found defendants, which make up the official treasons which made nonsense of their life's exploitation of a police state." The "last records of the Moscow trials, it offers the work? Khrushchev (who had himself led bervice of self-sacrifice could not have been to the continued on page 10 defendants which make up the official

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#### Muslim in red By Martin Walker in Moscow

DUNIA BEKMURADOVA went out, as evening fell, to the courtyard of her home in the Turkmen llies, she was shunned. village too small to have a name. poured petrol over her veiled head and struck the match. She finally

died the next morning, Perhaps she died for love, perhaps for a tribal and religious tradition far older than the Soviet state which has been trying to grapple with the implications of her death.

The village where she was born, grew to womanhood and died lies just on the Soviet side of the Afghan border, about 100 miles north of Herat. The women in this rogion still wear yashmaks, and although Dunia, like most of her contemporaries, paid her subscrip-

In this part of the Soviet Union, the traditional Muslim wedding feasts still take place and can still last for up to a week. But increasingly, the feasts take a modern form which is known as a "Komsomol wedding". Komsomol wedding means only that the guests sit on benches, rather than squat on the floor, and the bride in her pride of place daringly faces the guests.

Dunia's tragedy began when she was a schoolgirl and sent affectionate notes to a schoolmate, a bright young lad called Nur Mukhamed. Apart from telling her curtly that this was no way for a good Turkmen woman to behave, he

other girls in Dunia's village were where kalym had not been paid. getting married and starting fam-

She wrote to Nur Mukhamed, pleading with him to marry her "if only for a year. Better to be divorced than to be what I am now, when nobody talks to me, and all believe that there was something up agreed lists which include between us."

tary of the Komsomol at the local collective farm. His relatives urged him to marry Dunia, since she was already disgraced for other men. His grandmother visited Dunia's

parents to arrange the marriage. But Nur Mukhamed refused, and went off to the city to begin a tion to the Komsomol, the Young quarters, in charge of a Komsomol promising career at party headfollowed, visiting the party secretary in their full regalia of cause. Still, Nur Mukhamed refused, and so Dunia went home to

commit suicide by fire. It is a case that has thrown up all sorts of questions about the relationship of Muslim tradition to the Soviet state, about the success of modern education in raising a new, secular generation of Muslim youth, and more immediately, it has brought into the public gaze the sheer power of custom in the

Soviet Union's own deep south. Komsomolskaya Pravda has devoted a long article to the officially illegal practice of kalym, or a dowery for the bride. Local officials ignored her. He went off to agricul- in Turkmenia acknowledged that tural college, and while all of the they could not think of a wedding Soviet central Asia.

"A sum of 20,000 roubles (£19,400) is considered quite modest, allowing matters to be arranged more or less decently," the paper noted. "And these days, kalym is not money alone. On the eve of marriage, the families make Nur Mukhamed came back to bride, a 'profitable' job for her elder the village and was elected secre- brother, or fixing the admission to an institute for her young broth-

With mounting disbelief, Komsomolskaya Pravda's reporter began questioning local Party officials, and found some of them making a staunch defence of the

"Young families founded on such Communists' League, local custom section. Dunia and her mother ents are much stronger, thanks to kalym, than marriages for love. The kalym money is spent on yashmaks and robes to plead their buttressing the material comforts of the newly-weds, allowing them to set up a proper home. Since this strengthens the family, such customs are progressive," one local Party official is quoted as saying.

Brides, apparently, feel undervalued and even disgraced unless their kalym is high. And in the case of poor Dunia, the disgrace was all the greater. Her reluctant swain, Nur Mukhamed has seen his career fall into ruin.

He is now serving a four-year prison term passed by a local court for reasons which remain as obscure, but doubtless as powerful as the mysterious old traditions of

THE height of summer passed off less violently in Northern Ireland than the early weeks presaged, but the end of it is looking particularly ugly and the catalogue of menace is growing by the day. The IRA's death threats against anyone trading with or supplying the security forces, the unconcealed sectarianism of attacks by Protestant paramilitaries on Catholic homes, and the intimidation at Short Brothers which management and union, despite their efforts, have yet to stemp out - these are now augmented by pressure from both sides against workers in government offices. Workers in these offices have walked out in sympathy with one another, but the effect on services is almost the same as if they had responded to the threats. Further to increase the tension, the Democratic Unionist Party held a demonstration against the Short Brothers' anti-sectarian measures, demanding to know since when it has been illegal to display red, white, and blue bunting in a British factory. (It is not a British factory, it is a very different Belfast factory, and the confusion helps the DUP but no one else.) For incidents like these to be contained there is a crying need for responsible Unionist leadership lest the unholy alliance between the hard wing of

the DUP and the paramilitaries usurps that

It is at this point that the Official Unionist Party is now saying: we told you so. All through the negotiation of the Anglo-Irish agreement the line was that since Unionist opinion was being ignored the leaders were being side-tracked and the paramilitaries would take their place. That was not at all inevitable. It has happened by the grievous default of leaders in the Official Unionist Party. They have severed all connections with the Government at Stormont, wrecked the Assembly, suspended the business of the local councils they control. On top of which Mr James Molyneaux has cancelled his weekly press conference on the ground that the media are more interested in the violence than the politics. What politics? Mr Molyneaux has shown only one example of political leader-ship since the Hillsborough accord was signed last November. That was to agree, along with Mr Paisley, to talks about the crisis with Mrs Thatcher. He repudiated that gesture within the day and has since left the entire organisation of the Unionist camp to the likes of Mr Peter Robinson. Those Unionists who feel cheated by this abdication should make their feelings

known and find leaders who prefer talks with the Government to menaces at

The wrath against the accord is genuine, and the IRA has cleverly found ways adding to it. But so far the wrath is directed only at the intention of the two governments to work the accord. That also is a clever, if self-destructive, move because it carries the implied threat that when reforms are actually implemented the situation on the streets will be even worse. There is not time to test whether that is bluff or not, though it does not look likely. Unless the accord shows positive results before long the Catholic side will be as disaffected as the Protestants are now. Another doubt is whether the Protestant paramilitaries. grown fat on protection rackets and other easy money, really want a confrontation. It would be safer to assume that even if they don't they will be goaded into it. That mood is certainly building up. What will it all be worth, though, if the full anger of the Protestant community is incurred without the necessary correctives to the Catholics' position having been made? We are 17 years into this phase of the troubles, and Britain has yet to find a way to avoid getting the

# Finding alternatives to British nuclear energy

BRITAIN is not in the least committed to an indecision which has characterised British increasing use of the nuclear component in its electric power supplies. It cannot be, whatever the preferences of an individual government, because it has not made the advance decisions which France, the prime example, has made. The Sizewell B station was intended by the Generating Board and the Government to be the first in a series built to the new (for Britain) pressurised water design, but the long delays in the inquiry process ensure that no significant addition to Britain's nuclear capacity can be made until after the next general election but one, even if the next produces a fivevear Parliament. The TUC General Council's recommendation that the programme should be halted until a comprehensive review has been carried out is therefore less revolutionary than it sounds. It revolutionises the TUC's own position, which hitherto has been broadly in favour of nuclear power, but the halt has already happened, and it now seems possible that Sir Frank Layfield's report, let alone the debate on it. will not be complete in this

Parliament's lifetime. The TUC's compromise is at heart the traditional one of setting up a committee. It is designed to bring as many unions as possible into line by holding out the prospect of a detailed re-examination of the energy equation before decisions are taken. Two consequences which would flow from this, if it became government policy, are that the nuclear construction industry would disappear for want of activity and would have to be recreated if the die eventually fell in its favour; and that the

energy policy for a couple of decades would

That is not intended as a pejorative description of what has happened, simply an accurate one. Britain has been fortunate in one sense: it has had a ready mix of energy sources to hand and has not been obliged, as France has been, to take long-range decisions with only short-range forecasts to work on. But the chopping and changing between one nuclear design and another, which was the saga of the 1970s, followed by the doubts about any design whatsoever. have meant that Britain could not now harness itself to a serious nuclear programme within the next couple of decades even if it wanted to. The Flowers warning of 1977, that the commitment to a nuclear future (be was thinking especially of the fast breeder, which exists only in miniature prototype) should not be made until the waste problem had been solved, has in effect been heeded by accident.

A complete energy review is not a new idea. It was the theme of Mr Tony Benn's time at the Department of Energy, when papers were commissioned on all existing and alternative sources. The trouble is that it would necessarily take a very long time and would have only guesses to go on about the country's future energy requirements. All the guesswork of the sixties and seventies was wrong. It assumed a much faster expansion of demand than has taken place. No forecast made in the next five years could be more than a hopeful approximation to what the energy demand, and the means of meeting it, might be in the

That does not mean the review should not be undertaken. It should be, and can usefully be, because the existing mix of sources not going to fail so suddenly that we cannot make preparations against the day. But some limit will need to be placed on its scope. If Layfield can take three-and-a-half years on one power station, with no end yet in sight, how long might not be spent on an open-ended tour of the whole energy horizon? Two projects are worth immediate scrutiny. Much detailed work was done on a tidal barrage on the Severn as long as nine years ago and the Department of Energy has recently devoted another £5.5 million to the project. The barrage would have about the same output as the proposed Sizewell B, though its theoretical capacity would be

A second spurt could then be given to the fluidised bed combustion of coal, a technology in which British research is advanced. This use of coal is open to some of the environmental and safety criticisms of the SPLA. old-fashioned method, but it is more energyefficient and somewhat less polluting. With its winds and its waters Britain is also well placed to take advantage of new windmill aerodynamics and wave power. But (to quote Mr Reagan) there you go again. Once the subject is raised the Pandora's box of options is opened. We do have time to decide, but not the eternity which might quickly open up. And experience might show that Chernobyl was indeed the one-off disaster which the Russians claim it to be and which the rest of the nuclear industry is

determined to ensure it is.

# The day of the mad dogs

only real insight into the psychology at work behind these monstrous events. "The confession of the accused," he explained, "is a medieval principle of justice." Medieval prosecutors crushed confessions out of the accused by piling rocks on their chests, but Bukharin explained that he confessed not because of torture but because in prison isolation he realised he must die and "You ask yourself, if you must die, what are you dying for? An absolute black vacuity rises before you with startling vividness."

Bukharin thought to give his death some meaning by his plea-bargain: He would publicly ucknowledge treason, and accept that his moderate policies would have led to the restoration of capitalism. In return, he took a last opportunity to explain his policies and to defend his personal record. At the time, of course, Stalin had the best of the bargain: the hints that Bukharin threw out in his final plea were (as he recognised

The work of historians like Roy Medvedev and Stephen Cohen has rehabilitated Bukharin as an economic theorist and humanitarian socialist; he occupies an honoured place in the eyes of communist reformers in countries outside the Soviet Union; his political and economic principles are increasingly in tune with those currenty espoused by Gorbachev. The most significant development of recent years in the Soviet Union - the return to "Socialist legality" - would seem to demand the rehabilitation of the man who drafted the Soviet constitution and who constantly attacked the arbitrariness, lawlessness and special party privileges which disfigured Stelin's rule. But although many of his alleged fellow conspirators have been officially declared innocent, and their innocence is logically inconsistent with his guilt, Bukharin's conviction for treason, espio-

nage and the attempted assassination of

tions made at the trial of Bukharin have not been withdrawn as the process of examining the documents relating to the trial has not

Stalin's show trials remain a grave embarrassment to the Soviet Union, where failure to rehabilitate major defendants may be viewed as a lesser evil than drawing further attention to the iniquity of their original frame-ups. A half-century on, the episode at least serves to remind how legal systems, with their varying procedural rituals for emphasising objectivity and impartiality and apparent ability to extract the truth, can be vulnerable to manipulation — and not only in societies where, to quote from Vyshinsky's jurisprudence, "the judge must be a political worker, implacably

applying the directives of the Government." As for the confession of the accused, while it may be a medieval principle of justice, it remains sufficient, without any confirmawhen making it) submerged by "the rever-... Lenin still stands. In 1977, his family courts of England and Wales. (The Scots, berntions of the broad international received formal notification that "Accusa... sensibly require corroboration.) in and the second s

# The innocent victims

REBELS in south-western Sudan last week bombarded a principal famine relief centre. The action shows that the civil war in Africa's largest state has entered a critical phase. The Sudan People's Liberation Army stepped up its campaign after talks between government and rebel leaders on the fringe of the Organisation of African Unity summit earlier this month broke down. The first major sign of the new SPLA drive for complete dominance of the southern region was the callous shooting down of a passenger aircrast with 60 civilians aboard, all of whom were killed. It is the first such atrocity in Africa since the final stages of the Rhodesian conflict, and in confessing to it the SPLA cynically blamed the government for ignoring warnings to keep aircraft away from the south. Most people would blame those who gave the order and fired

Having been proved wrong in their suspicion that the plane was carrying military supplies, the SPLA renewed its general threat to aircrast, which has led international agencies to suspend relief flights. About two million people face starvation in the area in a renewed famine caused by the war and exacerbated by other African factors including a plague of locusts. The SPLA's next move was t demand the immediate evacuation of four main towns in the disputed zone, one of which was duly shelled, disrupting relie work even further since transport links were among the principal targets.

The rebels in the south are not without a

cause. Sudan bestrides the eastern end of the invisible line which divides Africa all the way across to Nigeria. To the north of it live people who are linked to the Arab world history, politics, Islam and ethnicity, the south are tribes connected to black Africa by race, language, and shared Christianity or unimist culture. The historic tension between north and south lasted until a 1972 settlement granted regional autonomy. The arrangement was never convincing and collapsed in 1983, when former President Nimeiri imposed Islamic law on the entire country and subdivided the south into three provinces to break the hold of the largest tribe in the region. The division was rescinded by a new government earlier this year, but the important and genuine Islamic law grievance remains. The two sides are also fighting for control of the vilfields on the north-south line, currently controlled by the

The question therefore is not whether the SPLA has reason to rubel but whether any cause justifies the tactics it is using. Similar considerations apply to the Government's handling of the revolt, a combination of military inortin, the use of surrogate mercenary bands and an indiscriminate assault on the civil population in the south. Each side is clearly trying to achieve the upper hand in proparation for the negotiations each knows to be inevitable as the only way out of a historic stalemate. The real losers are the starving people of the south, in a war neither party deserves to win because each has put an unachievable total victory above all other considerations, including elementary humanity. Early and substantive talks are the only honourable way out of the tragedy which now looms over the entire Sudan.

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# Le Monde

**ENGLISH SECTION** 

# Is France edging towards withdrawal from Lebanon?

Noting that the situation in southern Lebanon is becoming worse, France last week demanded that the conditions in which the UN peacekeeping mission's soldiers (UNIFIL) are operating be reviewed. The French request came on the heels of several attacks by Shilte militiamen on UNIFIL's French troops in which several soldiers have been wounded, some of them severely. France considers the conditions are no longer satisfactory.

ling to take part in maintaining was already raised at the Wednespeace in southern Lebanon within day cabinet meeting by Foreign the UNIFIL framework, but no Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond longer in the present conditions. who noted that while "there was This was the gist of the warning no question of France withdrawing that the French government delivits contingent," it was nonetheless ered to the UN general secretariat, and also to the parties concerned shoulder all its responsibilities and in the field in Lebanon itself. ensure that (UNIFIL) carries out Israel, and accordingly to keep a Underlying that warning was the its mission correctly." As early as check on the movements of the thinly veiled threat of a possible even though official sources say it is still too early to consider such an eventuality.

between the UNIFIL troops and movement between August 11 and August 13, the Quai d'Orsay announced on Thursday, August 21 that "the government had decided to submit to the United Nations secretariat general and the president of the Security Council the the basic problems raised in carrying out UNIFIL's mandate so as to draw the appropriate consequences

the positions most under threat as a result of the mid-August clashes in which 17 of them were wounded (since this was written, three more French soldiers were injured in a mortar attack on Saturday, August 23), the French Foreign government emphasised to the United Nations secretariat that was important that the French contingent, which has been seriously exposed, should receive from the world community, the United Nations secretariat the the other UNIFIL contingents all indispensable political, moral and material

What this means is that Paris considers the present situation cannot continue and intends to get the UN organisation to face up to

BY announcing that the USSR has

decided to extend until early next

year the moratorium on nuclear

testing it has been unilaterally ob-

serving since August 1985, Mikhail

Gorbachev has given an earnest

demonstration of his goodwill. He

won't be the one to jeopardise the

flimsy hopes of a new detente, how-

ever arduous the dialogue with Ron-

ald Reagan. What this clearly

means is that the Soviet leader

wants the dialogue to continue,

even if it means implicitly refuting

very official Soviet commentators

who continue to condemn Wash-

ington's mistaken optimism and

Could it have been otherwise?

Reagan's inflexibility.

FRANCE HAS always been wil- its responsibilities. The question in 1982 the French contingent "indispensable for the UN to

#### By Alain Franchon

Mitterrand sounded the alarm and Army (SLA), which was set up, warned UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar against control the "security zone" along "the extremely worrying turn the its northern border. Amal is serious clashes that took place situation in southern Lebanon has therefore exposed to the activism taken" while simultaneously of militiamen belonging to the assuring him that France "stands Hezbollahs (Party of God, extremby its commitments".

As a matter of fact the situation determined to challenge its suhas been steadily worsening on the premacy in the area. ground these past few months. On Thursday, it was the Irish contine southern Lebanon, the Hezboliahs of its patrols was blown up by a hostility to France - have heavily land mine near a place called infiltrated Amal's ranks. This is Haddatha (about 100 kilometres probably one explanation for the

Since UNIFIL's almost 5.800 troops from nine countries arrived in southern Lebanon in 1978, they have suffered 126 killed, 18 of them French soldiers whose 1,400strong contingent forms the force's main core. France has already begun a partial withdrawal, for 220 of its soldiers — mostly involved in supply management chores — are being replaced by UNIFIL, which under the terms

of UN Resolution 425 of March 1978 was required to supervise the withdrawal on Israeli troops fol- supervise the application of lowing their first invasion authority in this region, was inilocal militia groups. This was particularly true of the French contingent. Very firmly opposing Israeli operations - following Israel's second invasion of Lebanon

remained on good terms with the local Shiite population and the main local militia, Amal. But the peacekeeping mission's

soldiers, who are equipped with only light weapons, are also there to prevent commandos from infiltrating the lines and moving towards another in their opposition to on August 13, President François Israel and the South Lebanon financed and armed by Israel to ist pro-Iranian Shiites) who are

> It would also appear that in clashes that took place in mid-

Given this situation. France notes that UNIFIL's mission has changed and its troops now find themselves caught up in various rivalries which make their job as an interposition force even more

In the circumstances, it is difficult not to evoke the possibility of French troops being withdrawn from UNIFIL. In April the French "white helmets" who had been deployed in Beirut since 1984 ceasefire in the Lebanese capita southern Lebanon and help the were withdrawn with the ful consent of the Elyseé. The number of French volunteers working in West Beirut (the Muslim sector) has been reduced. And finally, for the first time since 1982 there are no French Navy ships cruising off

# Oil prospectors turn their eyes to Paris

OIL PROSPECTORS are coming where residents are sensitive to to Paris. Sometime in mid-Septem- the least new aggression. ELF. ber residents in the Porte Aquitaine's management and the d'Orléana district of Paris will see a cortege of bizarre vehicles pass- Générale working for the oil firm, ing beneath their windows. Four have decided to take the risk. The cream-coloured vehicles perched on gigantic all-purpose tyres will process slowly in single file stopping every ten metres to put down and send out a short burst of vibrations. From 8 pm to dawn, advancing at the rate of 500 explore the outer boulevards and a districts of Paris. They next mefew of the main throughways thodically explored the veritable leading to the Place d'Italie and

living along the outer boulevards ground metro passageways and so in the northern part of Paris who on. And they drew up maps,

will witness this procession. Then accurate down to the last in Paris, the convoy will move decimetre, for each of the main across Paris from the Porte Maillot roads that their vehicles will be in the northwest to the Porte negotiating. Are the vibrations Vincennes in the southeast, and likely to cause cracks and cavefrom the Port d'Orléans in the ins? "No risk at all," they say. in the northeast. Altogether 50 kilometres of road will be sounded prospection, it will take at least a

The 75 decibels produced by the millions of bits of data collected

four 200hp motors will awaken and say whether there is a pocket

By Marc-Ambroise-Rendu

that beneath their feet perhaps promising. lies deposit of petroleum.

bons a year, which is equivalent to ed. ten days of France's national con-

causing damage. But it took cour- that will be it. age to operate them in a historic and vulnerable capital like Paris

some sleepers and the vibrations of oil trapped beneath Paris. For will cause chandeliers to tinkle. the moment, the hopes are centred But the 20,000 persons likely to be on the southern auburb as well as disturbed in this way will doubt- the 13th and 14th arrondisseless accept this new Paris noctur- ments. But the northern part of nal happening when they realise the capital should also prove to be

"We've tested everything.

technicians of the Compagnic

exploration, which will continue

until the end of December began

on August 18 on the runways at

Orly airport. It will reach Paris by

Aware of the risks involved, the

oil prospectors have taken infinite

precautions. First, they ran a short

publicity campaign in the outer

warrens beneath the streets of

sewers, former quarries, under-

Paris -- water mains, gas pipes,

After the convoy has done its

year for experts to analyse the

What if a "promising formation" Early this year ELF-Aquitaine were discovered, say, beneath was granted a licence to prospect Montparnasse for example? A tract for oil within the 1,820 square of land 3,000 square metres in kilometre extent of the Ile-de- extent would be sufficient to instal France (that is, Paris and its a 30-metre high derrick for driving suburban districts). The French a probe into the subsoil. There is capital happens to be standing in no need to be directly over an oil the exact centre of the zone. Oil pocket. Techniques are available was discovered (and exploited) in today for angular borings of up to the Paris basin 30 years ago, but 45 degrees of the vertical. The oil in recent years more and more prospectors have accordingly discoveries have been made. At the picked out and photographed a moment the Paris region produces number of places in the capital 2 million metric tons of hydrocar- where their trepans could be erect-

If they struck oil, the engineers sumption. Until now, built-up would be both delighted and emareas were avoided by the prospec- barrassed, for they would then tors. But expectations of making have to find a whole hectare to interesting strikes and advances erect the pumps of the drilling made in prospecting techniques platform. But they already have have removed the last lingering an idea what to do in that case. A 150-metre slab along the outer The vibrator machines have al- ring road, a fake building front ready operated in streets in Pau, behind which the pumping ma-Tarbes and Strasbourg without chinery would be concealed, and

(August 23)

# Gorbachev's goodwill gambit

The United States' dismissal of the Soviet decision to extend the moratorium on nuclear tests to early next year as a propaganda ploy was described by the chief Soviet Foreign Ministry apokesman. Gennadi I. Gerasimov. as "very disappointing". The Soviet Union followed up the moratorium extension by agreeing on Tuesday last week to inspections of its military activities. The announcement was conveyed to the 12th and final session of the Stockholm conference by the head of the Soviet delegation, Oleg Grinevsky. He said the USSR could agree to one or two on-site Inspections a year on each other's territory. That statement was welcomed by the US State

goes to show that each side finds it in its interests to listen to what the budge on it, whatever their own other is saying.

Soviete and Americans on the winter, with controversy frequentstrategic arms issue — therefore ly overcoming the "spirit of Geneon nuclear testing — the fact is va" that emerged from Reagan and they are still talking. Their ex- Gorbachev's firm meeting. Along perts met last week in Moscow and the way, however, the disagree-

work in this area. But even here Soviet-American relations have there are signs suggesting a com-However wide the gulf between been fluctuating wildly since last promise arrangement is not unthinkable. How do you draw a line between research, which Moscow does not insist should be banned and "deployment" which it considers unacceptable? The very idea of

What is new in the present situation is that neither the Krem-

lin nor the White House can completely ignore domestic opin-ion. Judging by the kind of letters published in the Soviet press, the Chernobyl disaster has left its mark and produced a heightened the same teams are scheduled to ments have been contained. The a moratorium that the USSR nuclear awareness that cannot quite bluntly announces for the meet again next month, this time main stumbling block is the "Star" applies to nuclear tests can be quite spare military programmes, and of the year in Washington. Which at least Wars" project so dear to the US applicable to space weapons, with "Gorbachev himself made a pointed "August 20)

reference to this new development to justify his initiative. Washington is perhaps wrong to see solely as a propaganda ploy. However, it is obvious that here

Reagan is in a far trickier position. The recent Congress votes on funding the Strategic Defence Initlative and nuclear tests showed that the US President could not raise the stakes beyond specific limits in dealing with Moscow. All the more so as the mid-term elections due to take place in early November promise to be difficult President: the Soviets will not the time limits being left to be for the Republicana.

> This is certainly; a point Gorbachev has taken into account in announcing the extended moratorium. But his decision can also be a way of pushing hard for the new summit that both Moscow and Washington are said to want, and which the Soviet leader for his part

QUESTION: What is the lawyer's place today?

LANGLOIS: I don't have a high opinion of the lawyer's profession but I note there are plenty of practical possibilities. You have lawyers who are rather servants of the law, its auxiliaries in its unfair aspects, and others who try to prevent people from being too overwhelmed by the system.

I feel the lawyer's role is clearly evolving. For a long time he was someone who defended an accused person, or accused a person, before a judge. Today, he has become more of a helper, a support for timidated by the legal apparatus, someone who can't understand anything simply because he is not expected to understand anything. This is more than simply defending a client. The press, for example, must also be kept informed about the problems the person may have to face, and the lawyer needs to try to keep the combat going political activist . . . It's far more fore, it's becoming increasingly difficult but more and more inter-

Doesn't the politician in power become a kind of legislator and "outlaw" at the same time?

thrown overboard the moment a class justice. But let me explain there's a major social upheaval. So it, for a stock phrase like "class it's something artificial, it's the justice" has been used so much. result, at a given moment, of a What I mean is it is a justice that power balance, of struggles be- advantages people who have powtween those pressing for their er. And who has power in France? rights and those who make a few The man who has money. It tends concessions. It can be an extremely repressive law when the balance foreigners, young people and peotilts in fact towards those holding ple generally on the fringes of power. In any case, as it is, the society. political authorities who create the law, they are not stupid and keep open a way out for themselves. We tend too much to consider the law to be neutral, to be above society . . . No, it is a direct part of society. Produced by it, as I pointed out, it is the expression of the power balances operating in this

In my opinion, it is first and that people are not judged the modified and which, one fine day the police level. The immigrant in a satisfactory society, should population is kept more closely accepted by all and not imposed by French. Immigrants live in more a political power, which may well be elected, but in any case does environment conducive to delinwhat it wants to do.

concerned, it is true there are committed, there's going to be an direct influences and that's normal arrest. Afterwards, once the sus- is not gone over again. An error inferior. This is precisely somerectly on the political authorities. be freed on ball pending trial if he a policeman who tilted the case fight against — the feeling of subtle to me. Many magistrates will be tried in more disadvanwill tell you: "I have never had a taged conditions. The judge phone call from a minister, so I am handing down his verdict, or the independent." But that doesn't court if you will, will also be more mean that such and such a magis- severe, as a result you do in fact trate is independent. It simply end up with immigrants making means there is no need to give him up 26 per cent of the prison instructions because he has per- population, which is three or four fectly understood what the government wants. In addition, he may share its values and ideology. He may, for example, seel the governety. French justice (but it is ment wants a tougher line, so he'll certainly true of justice in all other against the accused is being cob- bility of giving an answer (unfor- the big idea today, but punishing in a completely take a tougher line. But as it was countries) tries to intimidate peosomething the government itself ple so as to get them to accept the wanted, there is an identity of idea that justice is something shared interests, and there'll be no beyond their comprehension and need to exert pressure or influence. that judges are infallible. People

istrates who depend directly on the find themselves for the first time ministry - the public prosecutors in a courthouse are struck right - who are subject to direct pres- away by the architecture. A foresure, and magistrates who hand tasto is already given by the down judgments (sitting magis- designation of the courthouse as trates as they are called) who have the "Palace of Justice". Courtoften given in to the government. rooms frequently have very high, They all make up the magistracy ornate ceilings with elaborate and the individual political ideas decorations in the woodwork, statthat each magistrate may have ues, in short, something that is very clearly taken second place to very impressive for the person the esprit de corps. There's a entering there to tell himself: "I'm

# **'Justice merely mirrors** our imperfect society'

Denis Langiois talks to Ratimir Paviovic

professional practices of leftwing the fact that there are judges who magistrates and rightwing magis- are dressed differently from us (red trates. This doesn't mean that gowns and black gowns), who sit having another attitude doesn't require courage; on the contrary believe that bucking the general legal tide means missing out on terms employed are so complex that promotion opportunities and exment, transfers and, in the end. being shunted off into a dead end. This is what happened to a very also a writer, Casamayor. The was promoted to a job where he did not have to play an important role. The judicial institution is sufficiently powerful to get rid of snags,

and to do that smoothly. What is the situation of French

very much with the arrival of the The law is the first thing to be left in power: I should say it's still to work to the disadvantage of

mortal . . ." And this continues in on a dais in luxurious armchairs.

The language used is not the language of ordinary people; the court ushers who are there, the lawyers who also happen to be gowned, and all these people celebrate a sort of ritual where people speak in very hushed tones that changes, it becomes distinctly superior, he is almost given orders

. . . I know people who were given very severe sentences compared with the yardstick that in general exists in the minds of judges, but were overwhelmed by the pomp and solemnity of their trials. At a pinch, it's God who passed sentence. or they - the magistrates nothing more to discuss.

How can judicial errors be avoid-

It's a tricky problem, because the way French justice functions necessarily leads to judicial errors. judicial examinations, when they do not verify the police work. In

people who "officiate" is limited, the risks of judicial errors are

What's necessary, in my view, is people to keep a vigilant eye on justice in its most commonplace, everyday forms. This could lead to very bad results, it could lead to repressive laws not in line with But if people are educated at the no useful purpose. There are same time, if they are shown that offences that have disappeare justice is simply the search for from the penal code, but they had harmony between persons living already disappeared before in jud the same daily lives, then we could cial moves. People were penalised arrive at better results. I have no for abortion for a long time, then illusions, it's not justice alone that the law was modified. I feel society we can reform, it's the whole of in fact imposes changes on the society that has to be modified. legislator. The legislator himself Justice cannot be special. It's not can take the initiative, but generbecause someone like Badinter ally speaking it is because he's was Minister of Justice for five prodded into doing it. This doesn't years that justice has improved mean that there has been an considerably, but because it's a cog easing up of either the pressures or in the societal machinery and the repression; they quite simply because this is how society func- change form in adapting to ov tions. I think it can improve only if society. It serves no purpose t - are demi-gods, and there's efforts are made to bring about far- penalise people who are not rejectreaching modifications in society's ed by the prevailing values.

One of your ideas is to teach justice

Why do I address children? Quite simply because I realised both in police investigations and in that people were conditioned very quickly by the values of society and that the moment for such It's said there are large numbers France, the police statement is conditioning was unfortunately

Paris lawyer and writer Denis Langiola is one of today's most outstanding fighters against injustice and everything that spawns it. In this interview he gave Ratimir Paviovic, Langiois explains his ideas on justice and says how ordinary citizens can help to improve it. Langlois is also the author of several books, including "Les Dossiers noirs de la justice française", "Les Dossiers noirs de la police française", "Le Guide du militant" and "L'injustice racontée aux enfants".

of immigrants in French gaols. It I don't for a moment stand in scems to me this is the logical disappear making way for a rule under police surveillance than the difficult conditions, hence in an quency. The police are vigilant and As far as the administration is repressive. As soon as a crime is times their proportion in the French population.

Justice in fact mirrors our soci-The magistracy today has mag- who have never been at a trial and

problems, their own situations, out of parental control.

accepted by the judge because most childhood. Consequently, I have of the time he does not want to tried to produce a sort of counterhumble admiration before the law. outcome of a system which ensures carry out a further investigation. information, to limit the damage He frequently calls in witnesses as it were. I tried to show children foremost something that can be same way. This is equally true at whom the police have already that they didn't need to wait to heard (here I'm speaking of the grow up to try to influence the magisterial investigation). If the people around them, that as chilpolice suspect someone, the judge dren and young persons attending will generally tend to strengthen schools they could, for example, his guilt and not look for elements play a part in combating racism that might speak in the person's because in their daily lives they favour. The court hearing is usual- encountered racists and sexists. In ly over very quickly, except assize the classroom, girls frequently court cases, and the investigation tend to be left out, considered as the administration depends di- pected person is charged he won't could be an error to begin with, or thing a child can understand and As for justice, that seems more is an immigrant. Which means he one way or another, or made a superiority that exists in a boy, mistake, perhaps a bona fide mis- fight it so the inequality does not work against it.

Judicial error is built into the There's a whole lot of things a system and the institutions. If child can do, and in general it's You ask for this or that rule to be lawyers and citizens in general told: "It's not for you, you're too applied. But you mustn't fool played a bigger role in looking for young." I'm personally struck to the truth a certain number of hear parents often tell their chilerrors would be avoided. For ex- dren who ask social or political ample, I think where the lawyer questions: "Listen, that's not for the result of struggles. can play a bigger role in a penal you, you'll come to that later." If affair is at the stage of the judicial this attitude is properly analysed. investigation when the case it is either ignorance, the impossibled together. Once the matter tunately it is difficult to give a at the same time is complete goes to court, it's often all sewn up. simple answer to a child who asks hypocritical. It would be much Ordinary people can play a role a question) or the desire to keep more effective to pursue in defence committees, in existing the child in a childlike state for as consistant social policy. I'm some unofficial inquiry commissions. long as possible, to keep it for what frightened to note that in the What I would like - and this was oneself, because from the moment the big idea back in May '68 — is it begins facing up to a certain by the left there are social workfor people to look after their own number of problems it slips a little ers, but also policemen and magis-

and absolutely not leave it up to Parents always fear their chil- terms of restraints, supervision institutions or specialists to take dren might have political opinions care of such matters. After May '68 different from theirs. It's some- case, things can become better inquiry commissions, defence and thing that can be tragic to tell only if we combat social injustice: support committees were set up. yourself: "Oh well, it's my child I'm not going to claim that social They still exist, but are much and he doesn't think like me: rarer, and in my view this seems to politically, he's even my adver for minor crime, but it may be be an essential way people can sary." The simplest attitude, which keep a check on an institution like I feel is not the best, is in fact to almost egged on to commit offences leftwing magistrate's union which in the presence of something that's justice. There'll always be judicial say: "Politics is not for your age," if they want to lead fairly normal 

the broadest sense. Justice seems to me to be a directly political institution. The child is shut out of these problems on the excuse his innocence must be respected. It's completely hypocritical because television and society in general do not respect the child's innocence: they thrust extremely violent images and ideas that are sometimes dangerous at him without worry. ing about his age. And it's this respect for the child's innocence that they throw in your face when you write books for children. Do you think that the judicial code

of one generation can be the code of

Obviously laws must evolve because society is evolving, even lf-defence at the very outside. what the people accept would serve So law evolves. Here we're

> speaking mostly of criminal law. but it's the same with civil law. Divorce rules have changed because people don't want to continue living according to the same rules. But I don't think the legisla tor necessarily sees it as liberalisation, it's quite simply because the pressure is so great he nas to concedo a certain number o things. This is not to say he will not take back what he has given The human rights guerrilla campaign, that is, the act of badgering the authorities on a particular issue with limited means can, at the end of a certain time, produce positive results, because the auother areas since they are

I don't think much of law, but which first results in interesting permits giving immediate protecsituations. I've always kept in mind the fact that there are people may tell ourselves "What's important is to change the whole society", but they can't wait, they the daily struggle for human rights. Since a government wants to impose its laws on us, you have law is fair". No. the law

crime prevention councils set up trates, that is people who react it inequalities alone are responsible considered that some people are

# Janos Starker: maverick genius of the cello

GREAT PERFORMERS don't al- suitcase. He is pinning great hopes ways have the reputations they on it. Not that he seems to like deserve and are not necessarily the making enemies. But it so happens best placed in the international he is unhappy about the prevailing distribution market. For the ulti- musical mores. Yet it is hard to mate proof of that you had to be at imagine a musician at the height the recital that Janos Starker gave of his career, master of his passion this month at the Prades Festival. as of his technique, a good family In this high temple of cello music, still wholly dedicated to the cult of Pablo Casals, there were people who had never heard, others had forgotten or knew only through records of the admirably sober it is even harder to believe that playing, the pure golden tones and this unreconstructed humorist 61-year-old American-born Hun- jungle.

garian (of Russian stock). Yet his 1971 recording of the Bach Suites, a test performance if has personally forged to overcome. ever there is one, ranks among the or mask, all the restraints that very top alongside the works of such a bulky instrument can offer. someone like Pierre Fournier or the "god" Casals himself. Playing Bartok in black and white, Debussy with the lyricism of a prosepoem, Boccherini with the headiness of a flawless virtuosity, or mantic, Starker is the very symbol to the millimetre. The marriage of tude that you would mistakenly take for coldness. The French pianist Alain Planès, whom he has chosen as his accompanist and who travels with him worldwide, de- come round only once a year. Or serves this honour.

But when are we going to hear who has not played in Paris since Starker play in France. A man unloved, he pulled no punches in France. his criticism of institutions and values he believes to be too highly regarded. A small volume of caricatures, to which he has contributed pithy captions that needle some of his more famous fellow-musicians. reputation as a rebel than the incompetently, so excellent musicheeky too.

The volume of caricatures which has just been published in the United States shows, among others, Paul Tortellier as Don Quixote. Rudolf Serkin as Santa Claus, Kerajan as a pilot, Maazel in short pants and Giulini in a monk's cowl. The final last drawing shows the wicked caricaturist and the very ferocious caption writer running away, heads down, from a lynch mob. The caricaturist was at one time the little-known first violinist of the Chicago Philharmonic. The caption writer used to be its solo cellist. He has since

become a very illustrious soloist. At the Prades Festival where met him, Starker produced this inflammatory publication from his

man, a good American, professor at Indiana University's music department, Bloomington, daring to take the mickey out of his fellow musicians with such freedom. And the distinguished phrasing of this still a harassed star in the music

For the fact is he plays the cello

#### By Anne Rey

Swifter, lighter, more elegant and free-flowing, his style of playing is consequently a victory over massiveness, a course that is faultless ported him at Prades in Debusay and Beethoven, Bartok, Coupering and Boccherini. Recitals like that rather, they would do if Starker. 1978, wasn't so unfairly ignored in

"The Paris Orchestra," Starker, for example, "is with the New York Philharmonic the world's worst orchestra. Not that it has bad musicians, far from it. But just as you can't hold it against will doubtless do more for his incompetent musicians for playing fulfilment of his art, though that's cians who behave like ten-year-

657

home and work for free."

olds are real pigs. What I'm telling you now I've already told a New York newspaper. It's not surprising I'm not invited to Paris." Question: But why do you come so rarely to France? Starker: Conductors don't like

me. And then, from an American viewpoint, your fees are peanute There are three reasons for playing abroad - artistic motives career considerations, financial advantages. None of the three prompts me to come to France. If played at the Prades Festival, it was out of pleasure and because Casals invited me here exactly 30

There isn't a city, village or university that can do without one. So let's speak rather of summer concerts. A festival deserves its name only if it provides an experience different from that of big cities during the year.

Look at these Americans who spend their summers at big festi- loathed cellists who put on an vals in Europe. They get their dose expression of suffering to get pub- least of his sarabands. And apof music for the whole year. Later, lic sympathy. People don't come to plauding him was also one way of if they are asked to subsidise an orchestra, they just don't want to music. know. They've had their fill.

When I came to America 38 years ago, the musical seasons were very short, roughly between 28 and 36 weeks, and the musicians were not paid for the full year. The festivals were devised to elp them balance their budgets and apare them the trouble of having to become lifeguards and insurance salesmen. Now all American orchestras have their summer residences. In Hungary. here are festivals everywhere and conductor? right round the year. It's one way oreign currency.

That has no effect on it. Any are also proliferating. I have opposed them during 40 years and refused to sit on panels judging. Then I changed my mind. Competitions also don't make the least difference. A good musician will always make a career one day. Winning a competition will help him gain a little time.

Do you like the cetto?

I hate it when I have to walk dors. As for the rest, work, tech- you can do for him. nique, I don't like talking about it

Janos Starker: "The man whose inner warmth freezes the air around him".

My cello and I are synonymous. What I aim at is to get the listener to forget my problems. I've always watch our antics but to listen to

What do you think of Rostropovich? That's another style, another kind of playing, a world different from mine. It's with him that the Beethoven. Don't think I'm jealous. Nobody steals someone clac's recital. It's only young people who believe in such rivalry. Besides, I've heard Rostropovich play the cello exactly as it should be played. Do you think Casals was a great

Can we really talk of conductof attracting tourists and earning ing? He conducted, right, we must all be able to conduct, that's part of And music is the loser in the the profession. I also happen to pick up the baton, but I don't take myself to be a conductor for all that. Very good musicians who are not conductors have spent their lives conducting. Conductors who are not dilettantes can be counted today on two hands.

What does your teaching consist of? terested in what they can do. I was the cello in all its glory: concentrate only on what's impossible for them. But music is first ness. If someone plays badly and is long distances down airport corri- satisfied with it, there's nothing

# By Jacques Lonchampt

a distinctly more ambitious Tetralogy to painstaking realism in the

meticulous Seville tobacco manufactory can be forgiven, as can be - at a pinch - the monumental supporting arches of the arens in the final act. But you couldn't oured print on a chocolate box than the Lillas Pastia tavern, or a more ridiculous smugglers' mountain hideout than this huge gothic which would take at least a squadron of gipsy women to pass through without being spotted by

the customs men.

THE DECOR? Since Karajan Herbert von Karajan is conducting Carmen at the Salzburg Festival and cannot understand how he could changed his mind, returning after tickets are going for fabulous prices on the black market. But artistically, have attracted Carmen's attention Karajan's *Carmen* is a disaster.

> Alas, no. It grieves you to see the sounds and frantic gusto - inaudible planissimi, falsetto pasmance of absolute clarity with a - later make the performance put Vienna Philharmonic quick to re- on by a Germanic Carmen before spond with fresh sounds, but de- her clot of a corporal look ridicu- Gretchen who seems to have been void of inner life and completely lous.

gutted of its aggressiveness and The casting in fact is scarcely ugly, commands more respect with fervour. It is a brilliant and less of a disaster than the rest of a voice whose tones are golden soulless performance all wrapped the show. Agnès Baltsa was ab- smooth with a touch of resonance. imagine a more horrid cheap col- up in cellophane and good for the ruptly replaced by a slim and José Van Dam turns in a respecttourists flocking to Salzburg from lovely young woman, Helga Mull- able performance as Esamillo: it is er-Molinari; she has the ideal well controlled, perhaps a trifie Moreover, can we understand timbre for the role, but it is boxed in by Karajan's accompani-why Karajan lays down his baton sanitized and she lacks the least ment. It is Michel Sénéchal more bridge skirting the edge of the sea in the middle of this evening at trace of sensuality in voice or body. a bridge along which trudges an Lillas Pastia's, why Bizet is inter. One might have expected some- life into the production with his endless succession of bearers rupted for a lengthy flamenco thing from her partner, José easy style, wisecracks and pranks interlude provided by Madrid's Carreras, but the little man who in the minor role of Dancaire. Spanish Ballet such as might be could doubtless have formed with Michaela a couple of charming Zednik (Remendado) and Jane This intolerable conception romantic cartoon lovers, plays

voice, seesawing between nearly end up making him look ludicrous. Fiamma Izzo d'Amico, a blonde made up to look exaggeratedly than any one else who injects some

even for a single moment. What's

where he is ably supported by Heiz Berbié (Mercedea).

(August 20)

# Casals's shadow on every concert...

PRADES IS, along with Aix-en-Provence, the most famous of French music festivals. In many respects, it is also the most precarious, the least adapted to both fashionable ceremonies and a rush of tourists. This is where during almost 20 years, from 1950 to 1967, the first cellist to gain an international reputation, the man who "put the cello on the podium" used to host the world's finest musicians. Pablo Casals reigned hore, as he did elsewhere, like a thunderous Jupiter of the bow. But he was also something more conductor, composer, stout defender of Catalan culture, a man implacably opposed to fascism who had taken up residence here on this side of the Pyrenees, reminding Franco of his "no" with the

Pablo Casals's name is still a password today in Prades and his shadow lies over every concert. Michel Lethiec, the young artistic director who has been responsible for the renewal these past five years - he is a clarinetist in the cello's holy of holies -- realises the advantages of this formidable connection and tries very hard to ensure that the cello retains the primordial place traditionally re-

served for it. Leonard Rose, the cellist of a brilliant trio whose other members were Isaac Stern and Eugene George Istomin, helped him until his death two years ago. Though a pianist, 94-year-old Mieczyslaw Horazowski, a great friend of Casals and a familiar figure of the great period, conforms this year to that spirit of mandatory participation. And so has Janos Starker, the nephew from America, rated number one by his fellow players and so unloved by French orchestras.

Starker the untamed. Starker Pro-

metheus. For one single evening, it

Prades refound But what next? Michel Lethiec dreams of restoring the festival's reputation comparable with what it was in the past (save, obviously, for Casals's twinkling eyes) and firmly different from the usual run of festivals: a hardcore of friends for a programme ranging from the sonata to the nonet, great soloists to keep the level very high, resident artists brought in to run master classes with students being given the possibility, at the end of the course, to give their own concerts in different places. The Prades Festival would then come closer to being a great academy of chamber Schneider-Siemssen's mammoth Alas, no. It grieves you to see the sounds and trantic gusto — maudiole plantssim, talsette pastro pastro productions are increasingly patrone old maestro turning in a performance whether they are authentic or not sages and blustering shrieks that and obligatory beacon amid the 460 festival-type musical events that take place all over the Lang-

> The choral centre is also working. This is nothing original but helps to keep the pot on the boil at a time when trainee singers, who are still very plentiful, no longer find places to go to. The prize awarded this year was the right to sing in Haydn's "Creation", sung rather indifferently (by Michele Pena, Marcel Quillevere and Jean-Jacques Doumane). It was conducted by a conductor without authority (Wilfried Boettcher) and miraculously saved from going off the rails by a determined orchestra (Britain's Northern Sinfonia).

uedoc-Roussillon during the sum-

# Catastrophic Carmen

Die Meistersinger. Günther help Karajan to take his revenge. for the Spanish dancers' rhythms,

The place given to the overly

the four corners of the earth.

laid on for a sightseeing tour?

Does the musical interpretation moreover backfires on the show, such a pathetic Don José that you

# Will history repeat itself in Museveni's Uganda?

KAMPALA — She was 15, no out the rumours they spread . . . "If more. But because malevolent folk he is to be believed, at the very suspected she was the secretary of the former army commander-in-slip-ups which in any case have chief in Milton Obote's time, she was arrested and held for five weeks at Kampala's Republic rest". House, the defence ministry headquarters. She was the only woman try are worried by the perceptibly among many other detainees. Un- worsening conditions in the past such a misadventure. Today, member of the French embassy thanks to efforts by people close to security staff, a British teacher her, she is again free. That's a step in Kampala and an Australian forward, but it stops there.

Musevoni who has been in power killed from July 1985 to January in Kampala for six months is 1986 during General Tito Okello's having a hard time fitting deeds to turbulent term of office," noted one words. Arbitrary arrests - often diplomat on denunciations — are increasing. Gaois are full to overflowing and on Museveni's own admission army barracks are again boing used as detention centres.

The police force has been reduced to some 3,000 men and they usual law enforcement chores. The its limits because the green stickjudicial system is clogged up by a ers that are put on the windscreens backlog of cases it cannot cope of cars that have been cleared with. So, as in the past, it is the following inspection are now being men in uniform who are once again calling the shots. Now the frequently vaunted social graces o the National Resistance Army (NRA) guerrilles just aren't apparont. Misusing the power they have, they no longer hesitate to take people, exactly as their predecessors had done: all the more so, as they have not been paid their wages, they naturally look around for ways and means of obtaining the pocket money they do not have.

"Back to the law of the jungle soon?" was the headline that the daily Focus ran recently in discussing the various brutalities Masaka, a passenger in a taxi gunned down at a roadblock beopening his bags; a detainee at the political honeymoon is now truly Luzira gaol killed because he over, and Museveni and his men faithful followers of Amin Dada, refused to go back to his cell. And are somewhat isolated in power.

reputed to reflect the views of the left wing of the National Resis- left by almost 20 years of anarchy tance Movement (NRM), the and violence. Nevertheless, the ning to assert itself. Obote's follow- to them. NRA's political arm, expressed fact remains that many Ugandans ers are becoming active again and concern some time ago about the expected more from the NRA. The the underground movement known lack of discipline prevailing among country is a long way from com- as FOBA (Force Obote Back soldiers in the north of the country. "The Gulu district has become of false information .

accusations and expresses con- try to stop. tempt for those who hawk them. "Ugandan newspapermen have no 100,000-strong "political army" ever hold high posts," retorts Buganda that Milton Obote abol- guerrilla leader has become a head training. Moreover they don't have combat "not only the fees without either cars or phones for checking but also the reactionaries within"

lives and be accepted by society.

pens is of course a dead society.

disagree, it's up to society as a

whole, but at its lowest level, at

the level of the nieghbourhood or even the block itself, to settle such

differences. What frightens me is

that every time there's a dispute

people react by calling in public

safety specialists — policemen and

gendarmes - who have no inten-

tion of settling matters of this sort

amicably. Moreover, they are not

When people clash, when they

Foreigners resident in the coun-Franciscan priest in the eastern

Acting on behalf of the donor organisations and countries, the World Bank has just given the local authorities a list of some 12 mid-July. The drive to check the traded under the counter.

The authorities are taking firmer line in the hope of regaining ontrol of the situation. Museveni has promised indisciplined soldiers aw enforcement officers to open woman who had bought sugar on the blackmarket to be flogged public. The district's special ad ministrator, John Kazoora, upheld the legality of the sentence since it had been handed down by a committee directly elected by the

Even the weekly Topic, which is the new government could not who used to be the former dictawipe out in six months the traces tor's finance minister. region which is subject to raids and down from Sudan. Between Scroti

I tend to think that repression is

absolutely not a solution, that we

must try to settle these disputes as

between people living the same

especially not like certain people who practise self-defence by

arming themselves and reaching

for their weapons at the least sign

of a danger they take to be serious.

should know what that means. Is

Justice mirrors society Continued from page 19

A society where nothing hap- of law enforcement.

trained, for this and most aften, insecurity connected to crime?



core of the army where it is in a minority even though it has taken care to keep the command posts for itself. There was nothing

What is true for the army is Would these be just theoretical certainly true for the coalition government where there is a makeshift coexistence of political groups which far from share the

same views on the future of the country and manage less and less well to conceal their ambitions behind the vague and vulnerable "We're seated around the same reached the end of the road, but we're at the start."

former ruling majority, or even took in a good 100 Ugandans who ting into the fruit.

Political life is gradually beginplete pacification. The situation is Again) is in the news once more. still confused in the northern Gulu As for the DP's "legalists", they are forever grousing about the ambushes by reaming armed NRM for not playing by the rules bands of former soldiers who come of the power-sharing arrangement. Arrests are also made on the basis and Moroto in the northeast, the without consulting its other partredoubtable Karamojong warriors, ners in the government," they "We aren't magicians," protests who are better equipped than ever, complain. "We have no choice but go about their business Today Museveni wears a bullet launch murderous forays that to shut up." The other side is no Mayanja, who denies all these government troops will not dare less bitter. "Until now no DP All the same, how can this government in which they how- fusal to restore the kingdom of is mounted a machine gun. The

point the finger at something that

draws attention away: "Insecurity sal suffrage, general elections and

Mayanja. A dialogue of the deaf. True, the NRM has given an

reduce such conflicts to a question Most people who think about it

· When we speak of insecurity, we lives is related to social causes.

respect, the 60-page cyclostyled their criticism. But, unfortunately, "Master Book", which serves as this is not the case. In a Ugandan the basis of the politicisation campaign, is very illuminating. The authors of this tract revile imperialism and neocolonialism which "alarming" and called on the system in which - say the authors for allegedly planning to buy some 100 Mercedes cars for a cabine consisting of some 50 members. reach full fruition. In this working

"resistance committees" which

have been set up at every echelon

DP members are tagged as "opportunists" and Bagandas and inaction. The budgetary year be-Catholics as "agents of British gan on July 1, but there was no budget. The \$161 million rehabilisecondary schools during civic in-struction periods, at NRM political education centres and also on the tune of some \$30 million by the donors. Investors are still not Uganda. Everybody wants to know and in the evening during peak viewing hours in a programme called "Rebuilding Uganda". paralysed by an internal tussic between proponents of economic views? Not quite for Museveni and liberalism and a command econohis people have begun to lay the my. The group of experts proposes groundwork for a "new democracy" shock therapy - devaluation of quite different from bourgeois par- the Ugandan shilling, reduction liamentary democracy. The "new in public service manning levels democracy" is underpinned by the and halving the size of the cabinet

It is not easy to evaluate the of the local administration. As for the corridors of power between the future constitution and the radicals and moderates. It is not general election promised in four easy either to shed light on the years' time, they remain a total slow process by which decisions are made. Anxious to head off any Foreign policy readjustments? clashes between rival clans in his ed out Mayanja. "They have While he keeps inveighing against own entourage, Museveni cannot self-interested and often ill-adapt- ignore what is happening elseed aid from Western countries and where on the political spectrum At any rate, it is impossible for international organisations, where certain people are trying to the moment to dispense with the Museveni is trying to widen the foil his plans. For example, the Dr services of these politicans circle of his contacts. The presence which is well entrenched in severwhether they belong to the Demo- of Soviets, East Germans and al regions controls a good many cratic Party (DP), which was the Cubans does not quite go "resistance committees" to the major opposition party in Obote's unnoticed. Or of the Libyans great displeasure of NRM officials time, or representatives of the either. At the end of March Tripoli irritated at sceing the worm get-

went there to learn how popular Everything appeared simple to since Museveni has finally given revolutionary committees work. these guerrillas when they were Nothing astonishing about that: the tourism portfolio to Moses Ali, And if the Kampala muozzins are out in the bush. Now, with power again calling the faithful to pray- in their hands, they are discoverer, it is because Colonel Gadafy is ing that handling people is less said to have donated loudspeakers oney than handling ideas. It is fine for example, to launch a relentles All these things seem to herald a campaign against corruption. But shift that is worrying a number of how do you go about preventing Ugandans earning a monthly wage gandans earning a monthly wage being the Bagandas who form the equivalent to the price of three country's biggest ethnic group and packs of cigarettes or two bunches who are pressing for their due now of plantains from trying to supple that they have helped Museveni ment their incomes by every posseize power. The friction is mount-sible means? Museveni recently "It speaks in everybody's name ing between the two sides. The recalled the time in the under anti-corruption drive is irritating ground when his soldiers marched

these born merchants who want to in step without asking questions. unhindered. The political enlist- proof vest and drives around in an ment is not to these liberals' armour-plated Mercedes which minister has publicly upheld the liking. And the government's re- followed by a Land-Rover on which ished 20 years ago is making of state, and he shoulders to monarchist circles very unhappy. Catholics are also demanding a the ground giving under his les say in things. Do they not represent almost half the population? In a pastoral letter published at the up with it? Or will he give in to the end of June, the country's bishops temptation of totalitarianism consider it is not, it is linked to considered they were "entitled to Those who fear that recall Amin unemployment, problems in dayto-day living, the risks of war. But political ideologies" and openly er, then the slow descent into the it is in the government's interest to opted for a multiparty system Ugandan hell. Will history be "through the structures of univer- repeated?

(August 20)

is linked to crime, it's linked to political parties". Commenting on immigration." It's a shocking the "Master Book", the Ugandan equation, and people tend to look bishops warned the government at what's pointed out, and not to against "tendentious interpretabishops warned the government think of anything else, whereas tions" and "false assertions" that the insecurity of their everyday deny man's religious dimension Directeur: Andre Fontaine World copyright by 9 Le Monde, Parie and "may lead to indoctrination".

(August 16)

and "may lead to indoctrination".

(August 16)

economic recovery.

# under Obote. The weekly Topic

Apart from a few measure taken at the end of May, the

opment and trade.

with the Soviets. They eroded to provide the capital to the rest of America's economic strength, and the world, it will also provide the thus its foreign policy position. "By technology, the capital goods and most critical measures - competi- the managerial know-how. Finantiveness, productivity growth, cap- cial power becomes economic powital investment, indebtedness - er, and both enhance a country's the U.S. economic position has standing in the world. deteriorated vis-à-vis that of many other industrialized countries, particularly West Germany."

There can be no contesting that Ways must be found to achieve President Reagan, influenced by arms control and détente with the the passionate anti-Soviet commitment of Defense Secretary Caspar means to finance a revitilization of Weinberger, has allowed an unre- the American economy and that of strained military buildup that the Third World. This would not America has not been willing to derail the strong march of Japan pay for. It is no exaggeration to say toward world economic dominance. that the country has borrowed to But it could slow down, and the hilt to finance a bloated possibly reverse, America's present military budget, and that this aickening plunge.

# The Washington Post

# Military Spending Diminishes Power

By Hobart Rowen

JAPAN'S rising economic power overcommitment is a root cause of contrasts with declining American its current economic distress. influence. As the United States When President Reagan took slips into unenviable debtor-nation office in 1981 he promised to end status (it may owe the rest of the the Carter malaise: he would world \$500 billion by the early balance the budget by 1984, reduce

take place? In a compelling essay debt-ridden domestic and world published by a New York think economy ready to slip into a new tank, the World Policy Institute, recession. Yes, inflation has been Sherle R. Schwenninger and Jerry reduced, but that is the result of W. Sanders suggest that Japan's the Federal Reserve's credit crunch rise to the top illustrates "the that started in 1979, accompanied central emerging reality of our by collapse of OPEC oil prices. time — namely, that geoeconomics is replacing geopolitics."

The Japanese have shown that a has not raised taxes but instead work ethic can gain power and pand, bringing high interest rates status in the world without follow- and an overvalued dollar. ing the military route — the one In a real sense, the budget industrial and technological devel-

The authors charge that the Carter and Reagan administra- the United States will look more tions have devoted too great a and more to Japan. It can be proportion of financial and human assumed that if Japan, rather than resources to military competition the United States, is in a position

world's leading creditor nation. and promote economic growth.

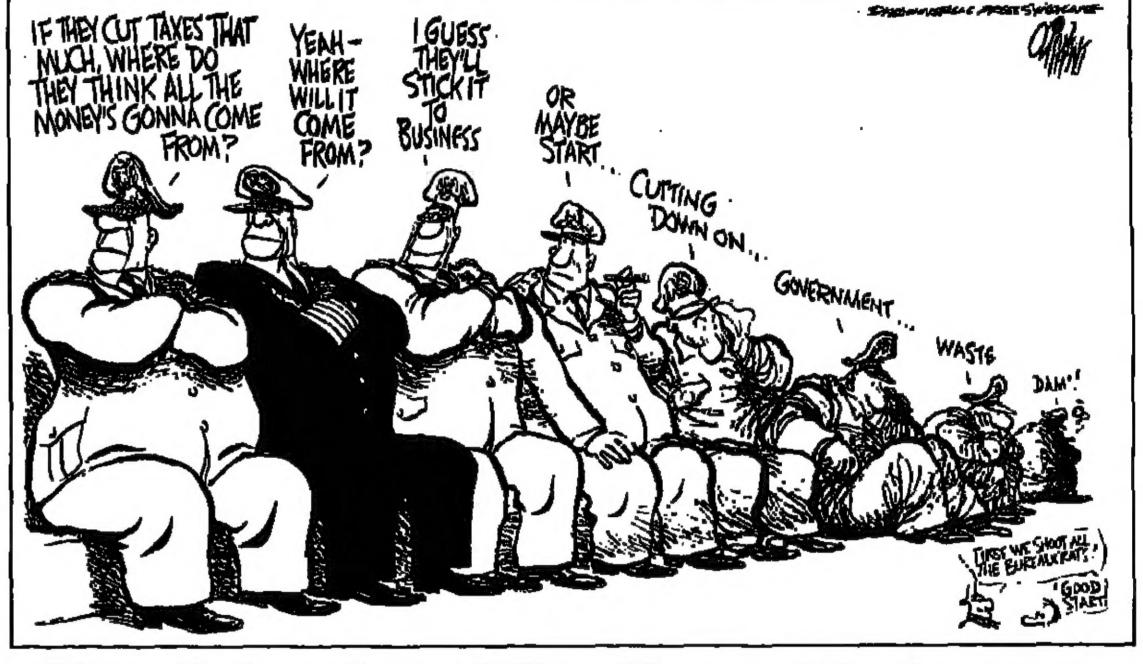
How did this dramatic change What has resulted instead is a

To pay for Mr. Weinberger's extravagances, the administration

that the two authors say has been deficit is being financed by the chosen by the United States. savings of people living abroad. Japan instead has placed its bet on Between 1982 and 1986 the United States borrowed more than \$400

Countries that once turned to

The solution is to cut back the huge budget deficit and stop pouring wealth down a military drain. Soviet Union and thus regain the



### The Colonel And His Home-Made Gun

By Jeffrey Goldberg

Robert George Dilger was the first apparently trying to sell the weapleast 16 of them flying down the friends, interviewed last week. coast of North Vietnam. The deco- said the former Air Force colonel rated fighter pilot ordered his was not doing it for the money,

flying MiC, got it in his sights. pushed the button to fire. Nothing

system still wouldn't work, but he program but who continually into enemy territory. He pulled his ments and fell deeply into debt. jet tight on top of the fighter and. They describe him as a brusque,

other, his quest for better, cheaper "This was his one goal - he

WASHINGTON - Flight leader ton gasoline station, was knew how to cut costs and he knew to spot the approaching MiGs — at on to the government. Dilger's thought he could do it. We just don't know what went wrong." although he has had scrious finan-

Friends and colleagues portray Dilger, 54, as a man who produced He tried again. The missile millions in savings on a munitions pickup truck. When he moved the closed the gap, tailing the MiG missed his mortgage and tax pay- Columbia Texacare Service Stathe story goes, rode the MiG into bureaucrat-bashing weapons designer who, motivated by his ex-

than anyone else.

Successors to this first generation

None of his friends knows what went wrong the other afternoon. Police say that Dilger, who was He headed for the tail of a low- cial problems since he left the drinking before the incident, may have left a shell in the 8-foot-long 30mm gun, which he stored in the back of his 1982 green Dodge weapon during a stop at the

tion on Columbia Pike, it fired blowing up a gasoline pump and injuring four people. The gladiator spirit that Dilger periences with malfunctioning Stars and four Distinguished brought to the defense of his machinery in Vietnam, became Flying Crosses in 180 combat country won him the respect of convinced that he could make an missions in Vietnam, was released generals and appears to be one of inexpensive anti-tank gun better on bond after he and the passenger, Joseph R. Donahue, 40, a former Navy pilot, were charged

weapons, landed him in the Ar- thought the Pentagon and the with manufacturing, transporting lington County, Va., jail last week defense industry had no idea how and firing an explosive device. and touched off a federal investiga- to make a decent, reliable tank Since he left the Air Force in killer," a congressional official 1980. Dilger has traveled in a Dilger, accused of firing a home- familiar with Dilger said. "The circle of former military men who made anti-tank gun at an Arling- colonel had a track record - he share his conservative political outlook and his unconventional views on military procurement and

weapons development.

Dilger is famous in some military circles. He won widespread acclaim for his work on the GAU-8 gun, an air weapon military analysts call one of the most effective and efficiently developed weapons ered the most effective aircraft in in the history of the armed forces. the world for special missions.

In the early 1970s, the Pentagon needed a small armor-piercing disclosed previously that dozens of radar and infra-red systems. Many have much better performance in shell that could knock out tanks from jet-mounted GAU-8 cannons.

What Dilger did was simple and Then he initiated a competitive procurement process, pitting Honeywell Ordnance Co. The companies continued to knock their

#### Fifty Stealth Fighters Believed To Be Operational By George Wilson

a stealth fighter has been under developed in Lockheed's "skunk" At night or in cloudy weather, development by Lockheed's air- works", but compared to the sleek the stealth fighter has proved

radar-eluding "stealth" jet fighters fully operational under a top secret formed sources say.

fighters are hidden in hangars in the Nevada desert near Tonopah To avoid detection, the planes fly at night under the control of the air force's Tactical Air Command. California on the night of July 11 was a stealth fighter on a training

mission, the sources say.

The air force, which originally planned to buy 100 stealth fighters, is now expected to settle for about 50 because of high costs and other budget demands, according to one knowledgable source.

The cost of the stealth proestimates that it will total \$7 billion, and that the cost per plane . Some members of Congress, as relatively slow speed, launch a detection systems. already exceeds \$100 million, in-

craft development plant known as Blackbird, the stealth fighter looks virtually invisible, and is considthe "skunk works" in Burbank, ugly because of its bulging shape. California, to complement the Nevertheless, air force officers stealth bomber under development are excited about the stealth fightby Northrop. But it has not been er's ability to elude detection by the planes have been organised of the breakthroughs are being terms of speed, range, altitude and into combat-ready squadrons.

which is hidden in the growing "black", or classified, portion of President Reagan's defence bud-

stealth cruise missiles and a new stealth missile designed to knock out radars.

built into the BIB bomber, and The air force still refuses to almost all of them will be included nology Fighter (ATF) being developed for the next century, officials

more than \$35 million, a figure shapes radically different from the air force's stealth bomber, technology on the Lockheed fighter back to an enemy's air defence and Northrop bomber. ... The stealth fighter has one basic ness, as are controlling engine

purpose: to sneak up on a target at exhaust and heat to foil infra-red have become increasingly con- before the enemy realise what hit cerned about the rising cost of them. The stealth fighter is not as Carter, who approved the new keep the price low.

their invisibility. designers to bend the aircraft into

manoeuvrability while retaining The only problem: 1973 estimates stated that the 11-inch-long, acknowledge the existence of the in the air force's Advanced Tech- Modern plastics and new com- 80mm shells would cost \$83 each. reflect them have enabled stealth Dilger, the ammunition program's that some air force officials doubt those achieved with aluminium obvious, analysts said. He orgon budget includes such pro- can be achieved, given the exper- and titanium. Rounding surfaces dered the ammunition designers to grammes under development as lence with the cost of stealth to avoid reflecting radar beams redesign, using cheaper materials. complex is another part of stealthi-

well as some military leaders, missile or bomb, and run home . The stealth fighter project was prices down, and the lower bidder begun under President Jimmy received financial incentives to

"black" programmes because of the fast or as agile as the supersonic, plane in 1977. The secrecy sur- By 1982 the shells cost about say this estimate is too high. The most sophisticated fighters now in emphasis on leaner Defence De- F15 fighter, sources say, and rounding the fighter has been \$12 each; according to published artment budgets.

might not be a match in a close- broken several times, mainly be- reports. Honeywell and Aerojet
The stealth fighter is a deriva- range, dogfight with the most cause of the unexplained crashes of turned sizable profits, selling 58 public view, the F15, cost about \$40 million each. prototypes..... million of the shells. tive of the SR71 Blackbird, also sophisticated Soviet fighters.

# U.S. And A Test Ban

AGAIN Mikhail Gorbachev extends Moscow's unilateral moratorium on underground nuclear testing, this time until January and with a cy, Sunday pardoned seven more challenge to Washington to follow the Soviet example and then sign a members of the Shin Bet secret test ban treaty at an early summit meeting. Again the Reagan administration denounces both the gesture and the idea of a test ban. describing the moratorium as propaganda and a ban as an obstacle to essential programs of building new weapons and ensuring the reliability of old ones. What is the conscientious citizen to think?

Some see testing as the ignition key to the whole arms race: Turn off the key and the motor will kick out. But there is more than a trace of fantasy here. In a world in which the United States must rely granted amnesty by Herzog. Those peared to invite further public indefinitely on nuclear arms to deter threat or attack, it makes sense to perform the testing necessary to have safer, smaller and more stable weapons. There is no good reason why this should be incompatible with negotiating tighter test limits - down to the level where verifiability and military necessity meet.

Demonstrably, however, President Reagan's nuclear programs and attitudes have persuaded many Americans that his intent in testing goes beyond these relatively benign objectives, and that he is jeopardizing chances of topping off and reducing the Soviet and American arsenals. Thus has he afforded Mr. Gorbachev the room to play, artfully, to the anxious international gallery. The Soviet leader has extended the moratorium to the point where even some American experts now ask whether it is starting to hurt Soviet military programs. And frontally, although not fully, he has addressed American fears of Soviet cheating by letting a private American group actually begin on-site monitoring near the principal Soviet test site and by opening the experts' talks on verification that the Reagan administration long had sought.

It was no surprise, then, that earlier this month the Senate called on the administration, in a 64-25 vote, to resume negotiations with Moscow at once on ending all nuclear tests. The House of Representatives went on to block funds for all but very small tests for a year, if the Kremlin does the same and accepts on-site verification. These steps highlighted a challenge to administration policy so broad that the president threatens to veto a defense bill that comes to him "in anything like the present House form".

But Mr. Reagan is not helpless to banish the unbecoming spectacle of an administration being dragged kicking and screaming to negotiation of a comprehensive test ban treaty. He could leapfrog this relatively minor issue by showing that he is doing his share to write the major agreements on European-based, offensive and space arms that the great powers are negotiating in Geneva. Or he could move purposefully to talks on restricting, as distinct from ending, underground tests. He ought to do

# What Is NASA Doing?

NASA'S MAIN PROBLEM now has to do not with safety or its budget, but with lack of clarity as to its goals. In the wake of the Challenger disaster the White House has 1) put the Air Force back in the space business in a major way, thereby reducing (although not eliminating) the military rationale for NASA's work, and 2) told NASA to curb the commercial ambitions that also sustained the shuttle program.

That leaves mainly scientific missions to be carried out. There are problems with these as well. Probes to Jupiter and the sun, scheduled for this year, have had to be put off. The shuttles that were to take them into space have been grounded - and serious safety questions have also been raised about the devices that were to propel them on their way after that.

Beyond these lies the space station, the most elaborate scientific project on NASA's list. When Challenger went down, NASA quickly began pressing for permission to replace it. In part the agency was seeking to rebuild its own self-confidence, but it will also probably need this fourth orbiter to build the space station, and thereafter to maintain it. Three orbiters might not be enough to keep up the necessary flight

The White House, after much agonizing over cost and other aspects of the decision, has now told the agency to go ahead and build the fourth orbiter, but to take the money out of its own funds. This would further complicate and stretch out the timetable for the space station, and no doubt for other functions of the agency as well.

NASA's budget is now in excess of \$7 billion a year. Whether that and the funds that can realistically be expected in the future are enough to sustain even the agency's newly attenuated program is not clear. Plainly NASA has to keep flying. To see why, you need only ask yourself what the reaction would be if it were announced tomorrow that the government was canceling the space program. For military and scientific reasons, for reasons of prestige and international competitiveness because it's there — we will continue to send men and machines into space. But there needs to be a plan, and from this distance there appears

# More Pardons In Shin Bet Case

service for their role in the killing of two captured Palestinian bus hijackers and a subsequent cover-

Bet officials, including agency chief Avraham Shalom, were upheld by the High Court earlier this month, clearing the way for Sunday's action.

All 11 have admitted involvement in the affair, which has come to symbolize the conflict between state security needs and the rule of law in this security-conscious naedly beaten to death by Shalom and his subordinates after being taken alive from a hijacked bus in April 1984. Evidence reportedly was tampered with or destroyed, and Shin Bet officials allegedly concocted testimony to blame the deaths on Army officials who had turned over the suspects to the security agency chief.

Herzog cited "exceptional and extraordinary" circumstances. "state security considerations and the good of the public" for granting the pardons, and he said the new ampesties were "a direct and logical continuation" of his decision to grant the previous ones. "Justice requires" that once he had pardoned the agency's senior officials, he pardon their subordinates as well. Herzog said.

Previously, Herzog has said he did not believe the security agency could survive exposure of its oper- October under a power-sharing once Shamir returns to that office.

JERUSALEM - President Chaim ations and methods at a public Herzog, drawing what many offi-trial of those accused of the Peres. cials here hope is the final curtain killings and cover-up and that he on a scandal that has threatened believed such exposure would Israel's top internal security agen- suverely damage Israel's security

Prime Minister Shimon Peres has supported Herzog's stand, as has a substantial public majority, according to opinion polls that have found widespread support for In June, four top-ranking Shin the agency, whose head reports directly to the prime minister. However, Herzog on Sunday apdebate of the circumstances surfrom prosecution for any acts rounding the hijackers' deaths and connected with the slaying - were the pardons with an enigmatic declaration that he was "aware of

#### By Glenn Frankel

the difficult moral and ethical and I expect all the appropriate conclusions and lessons to be an elaborate cover-up, falsifying drawn from it."

but they have indicated in the past Brig. Gen. Yitzhak Mordechai, affair would continue despite the men in an effort to learn whether Israel's left and right wings sugwhen most, if not all, of its possible targets have been granted clemency in advance.

investigations, and if they cannot find guilty parties there is no point in a police investigation," said ist Tehiva Party.

remaining for the probe is Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who was for Shalom, whose name has been

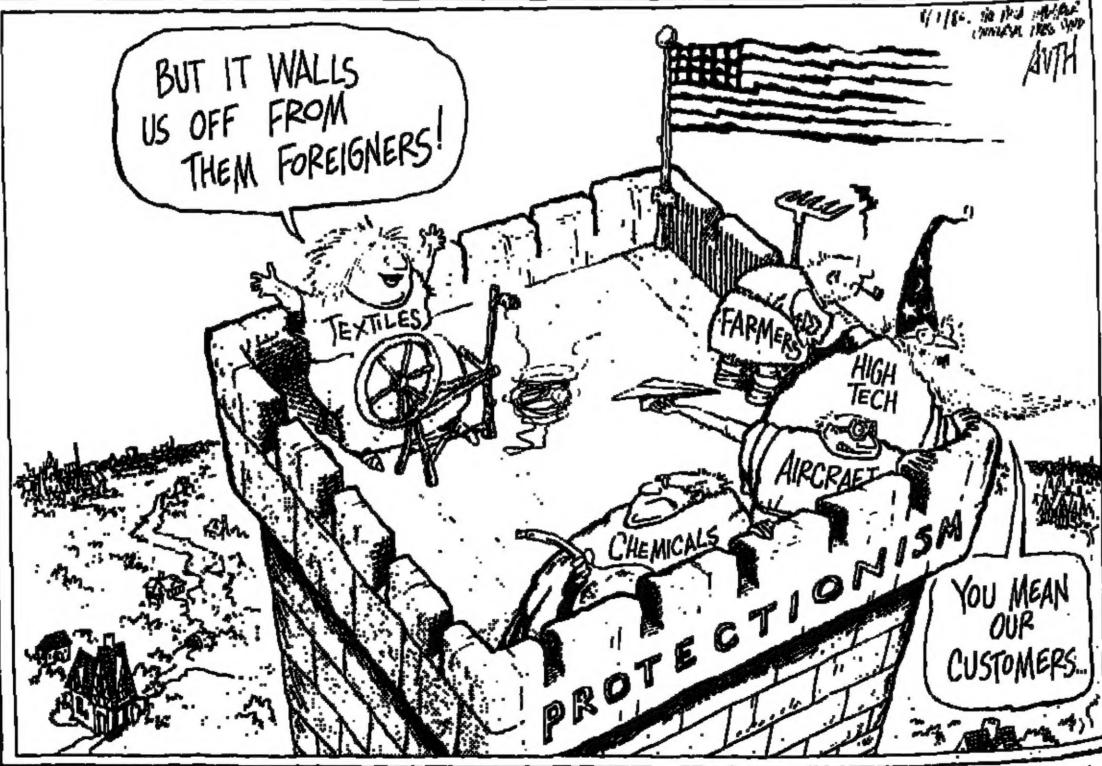
Shin Bet chief Shalom indicated in his written request for a pardon that he had authority from his civilian superiors - an apparent reference to Shamir - for a when dealing with terrorist incidents. Shamir has denied such a

The two Palestinians were captured after Army paratroopers civilians that had been seized by four men near Ashkelon. Two the suspects were killed during the assault, as was an Israeli passan-

The Army first claimed that the two surviving suspects had been killed in the assault, but photographs published in violation o military censorship showed them being led away by Shin Bet men. Shalom then reportedly organized evidence before two government inquiries and placing the blame on that their investigation into the who said he had beaten the two

The cover-up unrayeled late last gested, however, that there was year when Shalom's senior deputy. little point in continuing a probe Reuven Hazuk, and two other officials went to Peres. He backed Shalom, who forced the resignation of the three men. Shalom has "The police do not do academic since resigned as well, although he remains in his post pending the

Besides receiving pardons, the Shin Bet officials have not appeared to suffer any losses from One of the few possible targets exposure of the affair. All have remained with the agency except prime minister at the time of the mentioned in the press 85 8 hijacking incident and who is candidate for the post of adviser to scheduled to return to the post in the prime minister on terrorism



# Frontline States To Invite Reagan

DAR ES SALAAM - The leaders the frontline leaders would ask States and elsewhere in the West role in the region. of the six black "frontline states" him to meet with them in Wash- for stronger sanctions against Only two of the six frontline UNITA rebels in Angola, which bordering South Africa will issue a ington.

South Africa, and after South countries themselves, however, strengthens South Africa's shifty joint invitation to President Reagan to visit the region for an ca has reached boiling point," moves against black countries in South Africa. In Luanda Saturday, them, Zambian President Kenneth Kounda, the chairman of the us faulty that, realizing this, we Kaunda said the decision to in sanctions adopted Aug. 4 by group, announced last week.

Kaunda, who made the announcement to mark the visit of the Rev. Jesse Jackson before the The request for an urgent meetracial "explosion." If Reagan-could ing with the U.S. president comes
racial "explosion." If Reagan-could ing with the U.S. president comes
president of baying on landenute policy on southern Africa is incodefend them against destabilization
son have accused the American herent and "full of contradictions," tion by South Africa. The states
president of baying on landenute pressuring. South Africa with ment also urged the United understanding of South Africa's sanctions while cutting aid to to recognize the ANC.

Kaunda said. "We are close to an the region that have joined inter- the frontline states commended explosion. History should not find national sanctions against it.

American black leader flew here among black leaders here that in 10 to 15 days. The frontline the sanctions, nor have three other include aid to the frontline states, a second the new contraction of the sanctions. on Sunday, said the purpose of the strong U.S. sanctions could be leaders have been strongly critical black neighbors of South Africa: granting of most-favored-nation invitation was to help Reagan decisive in forcing South Africa to of Reagan for his reluctance to understand South Africa's aggres- dismantle apartheid and end white apply sanctions against South Af-

"The situation in southern Africa has announced retaliatory have imposed sanctions against

did not go to the one man who invite Reagan was made during a much of the British could have done something about meeeting of frontline leaders in Commomwealth. But the others -It."

Luanda, Angola, last week. The Angola, Botswans, Mozambique invitation would be sent to Reagan and Tanzania — have not joined in

By Allister Sparks

Zambia and Zimbabwe for joining and Tanzania — have not joined in Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi.

to take counteraction. In a joint statement the American black leader and Kaunda said

the purpose of the meeting with Reagan should be to discuss a comprehensive U.S. policy for the region, which is being "stranglet by the tentacles of apartheid." This policy, Jackson said, should in trade status to them, a long-term Jackson has said that the U.S. development plan and action

THE GUARDIAN, August 31, 1986

# Prosperity And Repression Leave Mark On South Korea

SEOUL, South Korea - 9.30 p.m. on down in 1988. a humid night in July, sirens The north, arguably the world's wailed and within minutes, this most closed and totalitarian state, city of 10 million inhabitants has made big economic strides seemed to vanish.

nle scurried to switch off lights and over and cut their headlights. munist world's first father-to-son Laver by layer, Seoul began to transfer of power. disappear. Soon the blackness was rise buildings the only hint of what was divided by the allies in 1945 at is now the world's fourth-largest the close of World War II. Ameri-

no one's surprise, they found no conflicting political systems. In utes later, Seoul quickly and prompted intervention by U.S. switches on cue from radio and

questions, obeying orders.

South Korea's 40 million people maintain near total unity against the north, which they fought in the manently under an authoritarian, military-installed government like

Feelings are rife today that some a rigid hierarchy in which people fundamental change - no one can accept their stations and work say what - is at hand for the together for the common good. government. A clock is ticking Benevolence from above is rewardtoward a deadline, 1988, the year ed by loyalty from below. Its the critical eyes of the world will influence pervades Korean society. be on the country as it hosts the summer Olympics, which begin in September.

streets of eight major cities to protest Chun's six-year-old rule. air of a king holding court. Christian leaders began speaking with new boldness, and radical students stepped up their battles with police. Spirits were buoyed by the overthrow of former Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos in February.

For the present, government and opposition have a truce while they try to negotiate an amended constitution. "If they fail." said Park Chang Hee, a political science professor at Seoul's Dankook Unidisturbances. The government might have to impose emergency

In theory, the United States is a military coup. neutral bystander. But events unfolding here are crucial to U.S. security interests, starting with the 40,000 U.S.troops based in sary to exercise stable political

paradoxical, intensely hostile societies of North and South Korea, and how each is applying radically be popular. The economy is hum-

century industrial affluence over selection of a successor for please think about why I can't. at his heavily guarded official For the present, the truce is

through state ownership, but has fallen behind the south. While boasting of sweeping away ancient customs, it is solving its own succession problem with the com-Korea, a nation-state with a

history of more than 2,000 years, cans occupied the south and Sovi-Searchlights scanned the sky. To ets the north, establishing bombers from communist North 1948, South Korea was born as a Korea. This was a drill, an annual state as talks toward reunification gauge of readiness for war, one of broke down. The north invaded in 1950, starting a fratricidal war disciplined society. Twenty min- that razed nearly every building

A stalemate in 1953 brought an end to the shooting, but not the President Chun Doo Hwan ob- hatred. South Korea has remained served the spectacle that night mobilized and ready for war, with from the 60th floor of Seoul's about 600,000 troops at the ready. tallest office tower. In a way, it The signs of preparation for war was a study in how the former are everywhere. Oil storage tanks crucial element in how he handles Many activists proudly declare Army general has tried to run are painted in camouflage. the oppositon, making him more themselves revolutionaries deter-South Korea — everyone pulling Railyards have concrete shelters in which trains would hide from great national goal, asking few bombs. Intersections around Seoul include waist-high brick flower beds that in wartime would become gun emplacements.

1950-53 Korean War. But increas- gained bloated influence in society ingly, western diplomate and as a whole, reinforcing pened," said Kim Young Sam, a protest this year. many Korean analysts say, they antidemocratic ideals left over are questioning why this threat from 2,000 years of Confucian should mean they must live per- autocracy and 35 years of Japa-Under Confucian ideals, the

state is an extension of the family Men and women eat separately. The language is larded with honorifics. When a political leader, This apring, people thronged the government or opposition, meets with his subordinates, there is an

ter, all are fair play in his book.

by John Burgess

employed as plainclothes police- campuses: Students call a rally, men. Wearing windbreakers and then riot police arrive in three jogging shoes, they loiter around times their numbers; one side or subway stations, dissident offices the other initiates violence. Police and the headquarters of the oppo- throw tear gas, students throw sition New Korea Democratic Par- rocks and sometimes firebombs.

office voluntarily in 1988.

Ultimately, Chun justifies all of though there is no evidence the

Chun today is under fire from waves of arrests. In May last year, three groups: opposition politicians, church organizations and there were about 125 people deradical students. They work in fined by the opposition as political

'In its 38-year history, South Korea has never managed a peaceful transition of power. It has always been by street revolt, assassination or military coup.'

"In his house, a man behaves like a king," remarks Prof. Park. "When he goes outside, an immediate change is not so easy." In its 38-year history, South Korea has never managed a peaceful transition of power. It has always been beliefs. Early this year, the party by street revolt, assassination or Today the country has the insti-Chun and moved into the streets with an unprecedented national

tutions of democratic government, but power centers on one man, Chun. As an Army general, he instantly into any war that erupts. 1979 assassination of another gen-Politically, the United States is eral-turned-president, Park Chung courted, and resented, by govern- Hee. When citizens in Kwangiu ment and opposition slike. Both city, an opposition stronghold, rose ship," they say. sides see the stamp of approval of in revolt in 1980, Chun sent in the country's great military patron troops. By official count, 191 peoas one of several attributes neces- ple died. Later he quit the Army, declared himself president, then wrote a new constitution and ran This series will examine the for a seven-year term. To no one's

By many measures, Chun should are proliferating and the Olympics The south is racing into 20th are coming to town. But he is not government to sit up and listen. and the government are battling said a Seoul office worker. "But, opposition party leaders to lunch radicals, they say,

setting his whole system afire, change. A joint committee is now selves into opposing corners. Closing a literary journal, raiding wrangling with the issue in the an art exhibit, questioning people National Assembly and the opposiwho visit a labor organizing cen- tion party has called off its street Visitors to Seoul can easily gain The students, however, have not joined the political truce. There the city's able-bodied men are are close to 1 million people in

looks like the country is exploding Yet, there is evidence that Chun military president. Most impor- scatter and police get back in their tant, he has promised to leave buses and eat box lunches. Within

"His goal is to win respect in the took place. history books," said a western diplomat. Chun is determined that oyes are cast on South Korea for liberal reform, "democratization." the 1988 Olympics. This could be a There is a key difference today: reluctant to deal out force and repression as the date approaches. Some listen to North Korean radio

his controls by the threat from north directs them). Several hun-North Korea. The opposition rejects that logic. "For more than 30 grounds, have taken jobs in Thus, the armed forces have years, we've been hearing about this invasion, but it has never hapsenior opposition politician. He and others suggest that authoritarian rule undermines security by sapping public morale. Democratic government, the opposition argues. would make people feel they had something to fight for. West Germany, with its stable democracy.

fear of East Germany, is cited. loose alliance, not fully trusting prisoners. Today the figure is one another, but willing to cooperate to oust the man they call a military dictator.

petition drive to demand a consti-

tutional amendment for direct

Americans and Japanese are seen as exercising strangling control over the economy and government The party and church organizations back off from extreme ideas them. Repression is driving honest people to violence and revolution, The opposition politicians are they say. Opposition moderates grouped into the New Korea also share in some of the anti-Democratic Party, which controls 90 of the 275 occupied seats in the Americanism. It is common to hear National Assembly. The party is it said that when given the choice, filled with gutay men who in many the Americans will always support cases have gone to jail for their military over civilian rule.

This has not stopped the opposiconcluded that the assembly was a tion from dreaming of the day dead end for its goal of ousting when Washington will dump Chun, the way it did Marcos in the Philippines this spring. State Department papers criticizing Chun's human rights record are clandespresidential elections. The current tinely circulated here. In opposielectoral college system is open to tion circles, meeting an American . diplomat can be a stamp of legitimacy. Last month, opposition figure Kim Dae Jung scored a minor They were joined by many members of the 10-million strong Chris- coup by getting invited to July 4th tlan community, which historically celebrations at the house of U.S. has been a force for social change.

South Korea's universities. Prob-

ably fewer than 10,000 take part

in the ritual melees that are

Seen on American television,

an hour, there is no sign of what

pedigree in South Korea. Through

dred, concealing their back-

factories to organize strikes. Three

They began stepping up pressure

ers and other students and attack-

ing police lines. Labor groups

picked-up the pace, too. Radicals

appear to have planned a May 3

riot in Inchon city, the most

serious civil disturbance in South

Korea since the Kwangiu revolt of

1980. Police have responded with

The radicals also hate the

United States intensely. "You

can't say our nation is indepen-

dent," said one activist in Seoul

Ambassador Richard Walker. There also is plenty of evidence Protestant ministers praised the that the Americans pack a strong Catholic priests signed the petition punch at the Blue House. U.S. en masse at Seoul's Myongdong intercession appears to have saved Cathedral. South Korea's normally Kim Dae Jung from execution on different means to cope with tre- ming along, inflation is low, circumspect Catholic cardinal, Ste- sedition charges five years ago, mendous pressures for change in Health is improving, telephones phen Su Hwan Kim, publicly Last year, Walker argued against spoke out in its favor, forcing the a government proposal to set upreeducation centers for radical Chun at first responded with students. It was later dropped. In through capitalism, while its poli- officials concede. When asked what arrests and suppression. Then he general, diplomats from the drab. tical system remains mired in old they think of the short, balding surprised many people by taking eight-floor embassy on Sejong Avepatterns of military man, normally garrulous Koreans an unusual step back from con- nue counsel moderation. Suppresauthoritarianism. The opposition fall eilent. "I can't answer that," frontation. On April 30, he invited sion of dissent will only benefit the

Chun, who has promised to step Chun, at times, treats every residence, the Blue House, and holding. But, in typical fashion,

Chun's Democratic Justice Party is proposing a cabinet form of government, with a prime minister to be selected by the National

The opposition party, mean-while, is crying foul. It continues to demand a system headed by a directly elected president, saying Chun's group feels it could manip ulate the assembly but not a direct vote. "We need strong government and to have a strong defense posture against the North Kores

threat," declares Kim Dae Jung. Whether the South Korean mili tary would submit to that "control" remains the great unanswered question. Its generals rarely med dle in day-to-day politics, but by many accounts, they would quash any arrangement that radically altered their idea of good government. Chun continues to enjoy his former colleagues' strong support analysts here say. It is the opposi-

tion that must watch out. Next week: The south's "economic

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MORALITY, REASON AND POWER: American Diplomacy In the Carter Years, By Gaddis Smith (Hill and Wang, 296 pp,

WAS Jimmy Carter's foreign policy a success or a failure? Cortainly the list of Carter's successes set forth in this compact yet comprehensive book by historian Gaddis Smith is impressive, particularly when compared with this country's sparse record of concrete foreign policy achievements over the last five years. The Panama Canal Treaties that defused an explosive threat to hemispheric stability and unity, the signing of the SALT II Treaty and the full normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China, all concluded processes that Carter's Republican predecessors had tackled but not completed

To that list can be added the Camp David Accords, which dramatically reduced the prospects of another Arab-Israeli war; the restoration of harmonious relations on NATO's southeast flank with Greece and Turkey; the conclusion of the Tokyo Round Trade Agreements; the construction of new and closer ties to Black Africa, including the disenfranchised majority in South Africa and the new state of Zimbabwe; the initiation of assistance to Afghanistan freedom fighters; the wholesale admission of refugees from Indochina; and the establishcardinal principle in American foreign policy. All these achievements and more are usefully and concisely set forth by Professor Smith, each in its historical context.

Yet virtually every chapter also reeks with the odor of failure.

History, the former president's defenders will maintain, will render a softer verdict, once political passions have subsided and Carter's deeds can be measured against the tests of time and his successors. But what is "history" if not the careful weighing and winnowing of conflicting claims by objective professionals? Drawing upon the published memoirs of key participants as well as extensive public information. Yale's distinguished professor of diplomatic history has taken a "first cut" at his profession's ultimate judgment on the Carter foreign policy; and he has entitled his concluding

chapter: "Reflections: Why Carter Failed." Why indeed? "Inexperienced Georgians staffing the White House," the usual scapegoats targeted by Carter's critics, did not significantly shape foreign policy. On the contrary, Carter's appointees at State, Defense, CIA, the National Security Council, the United Nations, the Arms Control Agency and elsewhere, including his ambassadors abroad, were men and women of remarkably high talent and strong convictions. Indeed, it was the very strength of those convictions — particularly the clashing convictions of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski - that, in Professor Smith's view, did more than anything else to undermine Carter's foreign policy.

Vance, the cautious establishmentarian, negotiator and troubleshooter, who emphasized reason and persistence in the allevi-



ation of world problems, is identified here with the "primacy of principle." Brzezinski, the impatient Polish-born intellectual, "close to contemptuous of Vance" and the man for the administration on many issues, Vance stuck by his belief that only the president and secretary of state should speak for the nation on foreign policy. Their contrasting philosophies, writes Professor Smith, "crippled" the administration and "affected every major policy and decision," particularly U.S.-Soviet relations, arms control. China, Africa and Iran.

With each passing year, the conflict between them - submerged in the 1976 campaign - widened. When Vance finally resigned in 1980, his disagreement over the Iran rescue mission was only the last straw. according to Smith. His book is open in its admiration for the former seretary, but barely conceals his disdain for his fellow

But to place all blame on the national security adviser for an administration's failures abroad is to blame the concertmaster for the symphony orchestra's dissonance. Although Brzezinski's role was crucial, the Carter administration's hopes for success were also hampered by a more assertive and skeptical post-Vietnam Congress, press, and opposition party, and by an intransigent Soviet Union mired in the suspicions of its aging and ailing chief. More important, the person most responsible for the foreign policy reverses of Jimmy Carter was not Zbigniew Brzezinski or Ronald Reagan or Leonid Brezhnev but Jimmy Carter.

Having sought the presidency, writes Smith, with no significant foreign policy experience or goals other than a "philosophy of repentance" (that apparently appealed to liberal guilt over Vietnam), the former Georgia governor took office with no guide

for the future other than his call for foreign policy that reflects the decency and people" (wonderful, whatever it means!). military superiority and solutions, is identi- he failed to build a personal following in fied here with the "primacy of power." As Congress that would back him in times of Brzezinski became a highly visible spokes- trouble. Having prided himself on his quick study of individual issues, he failed to discern the seamless web connecting China policy to his Soviet policy, troops in Korea to trade with Japan, the MX to SALT, Iran to domestic energy prices, the neutron bomb to

True, the remarkable streak of Carter good luck that had nominated and elected him president deserted him in places like Iran. But, as Professor Smith succinctly notes with regard to that crisis. Carter "inherited an impossible situation — and he and his advisers made the worst of it."

Smith criticizes Carter's penchant for

tackling all issues with overstatement: describing Iran under "the great leadership of the Shah" as "an island of stability because of "the respect and admiration and love which your people give you" (shades of George Bush saluting Ferdinand Marcosl Can't someone screen these diplomatic toests?); describing the SALT II Treaty in glowing terms that its modest contents could not live up to: describing the energy crisis as "the moral equivalent of war . . . the greatest challenge that our country will face during our lifetime"; describing the public "malaise" (that he had engendered himself) as a "crisis in spirit . . . at a turning point in history," and describing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as having changed his "opinion of the Russians . . . more dramatically in the last week than over the previous two and one-half years."

But Carter was neither the first nor the last president to employ exaggerated rhetoric. A much greater failing, as the gulf between his advisers widened, was his inability, in Smith's words, "to gain agree-

#### By Theodore C. Sorensen

ment within the Executive Branch" on key issues. But that's what presidents are forto decide, to choose, and to use either power or persuasion to bring dissenting appointed into line. Carter "saw Vanco and Brzezinski as balancing each other," writes Smith; but, initially too inexperienced in foreign affair to choose between their conflicting recom-mendations, he tried to ride both horses simultaneously, even when they were galloping off in different directions.

The result was constant delay - fatal in the case of SALT II's prospects for ratification - a reputation for ineptitude and ineffectiveness, an appearance of weak and indecisive leadership, and a series of flawed or half-way measures, including draft regis tration without a draft, an MX missis without a basing system, a Rapid Deplorment Force that was neither rapid no deployed, a secret Iranian rescue mission too small to succeed and too large to be kept secret, an embarrassingly mistaken cris about a Soviet "brigade" in Cuba, another about an "invasion" in North Yemen, and and embargo on grain sales that penalized more American farmers than Soviets.

To be sure, all presidents compromise on their original goals. Some manage to look flexible or creative in doing so. When Carter compromised, he looked weak.

Struggling to overcome this politically fatal public perception in the year of his renomination and re-election campaign Carter in 1980 permitted the total eclipse Vance by Brzezinski and moved so completely to an anti-Soviet, pro-military stance, according to Smith, that it subording ated all his original priorities: human rights, nuclear non-proliferation, restrictions on covert operations and arms sels and attention to Third World economic social and political injustice. He backed away from a nuclear test ban treaty and asked the Senate to suspend consideration of the SALT II Treaty.

The results merely added an appearance of inconsistency to that of ineffectiveness. was too late for Carter to embrace the militant nationalism he had initially de plored - the "hawks" would not believe him and the "doves" would not support him. "Ronald Reagan," concludes Professor Smith, "made the same appeal more convincingly and thereby brought the Carter Administration to its end."

Like many of the political judgments in this book, that conclusion is a little too pat. Although this nation's anger over the hostages in Iran contributed mightily to its sense of a powerless president, public concern over runaway inflation, interes rates and budget deficits switched far more voters than Ronald Reagan's confrontational foreign policy rhetoric a Jimmy Cartor's frustrating foreign policy failures. But presidents and their advises for years to come would do well to examine the unraveling of the Carter administra tion's enormous potential for success foreign affairs; and Gaddis Smith's book will be an immensely useful guide to their

Theodore C. Sorensen, former counsel President John F. Kennedy, practices law in

# World chess the sport for participants

Chess Championship is that it is a immediately begin to work contest over 24 games between two through the zillions of new options mighty Russians. This is nonsense. In fact, the championship is not Karpov but thousands of attendant replaying, scratching and sweating, dissecting zillions of options. Chees is probably the only game in the world that cannot attract a

a tiny clearing among the adver- beards, and thick glasses. The tising slogans, Gary Kasparov and their private board, perpetually thick to see through the clouds of nodding, like two dogs in a car's evil-smelling Turkish cigarette

that have opened to them.

Down in the bowels of the hotel. in a room which appears to be continuously pumped full of fresh, stale cigarette smoke, a huddle of grand masters conducts the deepis usually done in a thick foreignaccent. 'Vot about developing ze

chess knights gathered around a round table. "It eez dangerous. Vot black is not looking for is a blocked

The curious thing about grand than Speelman or Ian Rogers, they plation and the glasses are extrasmoke generated by the foreign Kasparov is everyone's grand masters.

By Waldemar Januszczak

phy which ensured that he was commentary room, that rarest of christened Gary and not Boris or chess-world inhabitants, an Aus-Anatoly or Viktor has put him on tralian grand master, leads several first-name terms with the entire hundred enthusiasts through a English-speaking chess world.

Gary's great talent is an ability to concentrate passionately on the own sandwiches. Several have binchess board from any angle. From oculars trained on the distant the moment he bounds on to the television sets. On every lap sits stage, a full three minutes ahead the ubiquitous pocket chess-set adjournment to Game 10, 51/4 world championship chess revealed hours later, his eyes do not leave more clearly as a sport entirely for the board. Even when he slips out participants than in the hot, through some black curtains to crowded, buzzing gladiatorial arehaunt the backstage, Kasparov, na of the commentary room. you know, is watching.

fying keenness from his opponent. Anatoly Karpov not unnaturally affects exactly the opposite air, a screens screen, options are opted marvellously patronising noncha- for or oppugned. "It's a funny lance. Some time after Kasparov opening because black has to do launches into the game's opening something . . ." struggles the Aus-Queen's Gambit Declined, Karpov tralian grand master. "By the end grudgingly takes his eyes off a of the night they'll know whether fascinating area of ballroom wall. yawns, and looks down on the unbelievably he turns out to be board to see what has happened.

Where Kasparov plays badminton to relax, Karpov scythes. This I phy — Chess is My Life — on sale in all the championship bookstalls. The book is full of photographs of Anatoly holidaying in Lithuania, riding a horse, fishing, and striding through fields of Lithuanian corn with his scythe over is shoulder in the manner popularised by Old Father Time.

Even when he is fishing, Karpov exudes an air of raw cunning and natural malice. The terrier-keen win this world championship, But on my side in a knife-fight.

The main function of the champion and the challenger conducting their private contest on the ballroom stage is to make the occasional move. This happens extremely infrequently, but when it does it triggers an amazing chain reaction. Instantaneously the move is relayed to everyone else in the game by thousands of television sets scattered around the hotel. In bars, conference rooms, press offices, lobbies, TV lounges, commentary positions, bookstalls. overspill seating arenas, discussion chambers, chess lounges, and shoes off in company.

Meanwhile, upstairs in the main televised post-mortem of every move. Many have brought their defences of the title. Nowhere is

In every hotel clearing large | Orangement of Ulster would still enough to accommodate two or more chess players and a television set, computers compute, it's a win or a draw." Almost

After the battle has "raged" for one hour and 40 minutes, 16 moves have been made. An American international master broadcasts locusts threatening crops in West the opinion that the evening has a Africa. Emergency aid worth £1-3 good chance of finishing early in a million is to be spent on pesticide draw - Karpov's end game is too to kill the locust eggs, as well as to strong, Kasparov's advantage too help pay for airborne operations

Three hours 20 minutes later, champion, challenger, and the rest region. of us are still locked in nodding

Kasparov will probably go on to leading challenger certainly get aircraft and helicopters already more elbow room than anyone else supplied or hired on the apot by know whom I would rather have in the game - and the best seats. EEC countries, together with the But by 10 o'clock Kasparov and grey, crumpled, and slightly see-through, as if they had been watching non-stop television for a cide spraying was carried out in

clothes before returning to the dered its delegate there to ensure fray. Most of the other competitors that pesticides supplied earlier by at the Park Lane Hotel appear to the EEC should be made ready for have slept in the same clothes use should the need arise. This since the 24-match series began. would not be possible in southern When the world championships Sudan, the official explained, beare on, the wise chess player cause of the uncertainty regarding knows better than to take his flights over rebel-controlled terri-

# Good time of year for a coup

IT MUST have occurred to other month to mount a coup d'etat. It is nearly 300 years since we had one, and even then it is uncertain that coup was the right description. Apart from the brief Cromwellian interlude, the practice of mounting coups has fallen into disuse since the Tudors left the scene. In their day attempted coups were almost a

to-subvert, certainly not bring Spanish, or Scandinavian princelings who might lay claim to it from one or other side of the blanket. It does so happen that the Queen is at Balmoral and thus off stage, but the tanks on the palace lawns would serve a purely symbolic purpose and would pose no

threat to Her Majesty's wellbeing. isters. I imagine it would be directed against the general state of affairs or against politics as what the Alliance parties say they want to do by slower means. It might fail, of course. Many attempted coups do, if you look Williams. The theme tune of the around. But it would be an instructive occasion all the same and would serve as a dress rehearsal in case we ever really need one.

The subject is raised by the combination of a short debate in the Lords before they began their belated recess and the 285th renewal of the Northern Ireland marching stakes. The Lords were considering a proposal that in 1988 a parliamentary occasion should mark the 300th anniversary of the liam of Orange supplanted James II. I am sure that many of us, if we had been around at the time, would have thrown in our lot with William against his "impatient, bigoted, vain and haughty" fatherin-law (I quote the historian Maurice Ashley), though without realising that 300 years later the

In the event, the Lords were not enthusiastic about celebrating

Grimond said it was a coup d'etat carried out by treachery. Lord Glenamara called it "a pretty squalid affair". But then they would, wouldn't they? Their 17ththe change of regime than the Commons because it established

too gradual a process to be called a coup. He and his wife Mary were around for months before it was decided to have them as monarchs. Indeed, from William's point of view the whole proceeding had as

much to do with his hatred of wrenching a Protestant Britain from the hands of a Catholic king. The sort of coup I put forward for discussion would have to happen overnight. It would be an essentially English affair. The first Today programme went off the air. It would be replaced not by martial music but by Delius and Vaughan revolution would be Butterworth's "The banks of green willow"

For consider. The Prime Miniater is normally (though not, perversely, this year) abroad August. Lord Whitelaw is shooting grouse (though this year, perversely, there aren't any). He would, in any case, take a coup in his stride and would point out that nothing that given goodwill on all sides the more unfortunate consequences The main people to fear would be

occasion. But Mr Kinnock is in Corfu. Mr Hattersley, being everywhere, cannot be said to be uniquely in any particular place and occupies a position in the nation's life like that of the spirit which moveth upon the waters. Mr Kauffman has already used

up the entire political vocabulary in denouncing lesser events. Mr King William III's accession. Lord David Steel would say that he had

made his position perfectly clear. More important are the political commentators, whose duty it is to arbitrate on such matters and tell continuity with 1689 it would be

William's later excursion to Ireland was mainly for his French purposes, Britain still being something of a sideshow. When he and James finally came to blows at the Battle of the Boyne he was advised by his military commander, the Duke of Schomberg, to carry out a flank attack three miles upstream of where the opposing forces were mustered. William rejected this advice and forded the river where they were. The reason suggested for this more hazardous course is that the alternative would have severed the Jacobite retreat to Dublin and William would have had the embarrassment of capturing his father-in-law as a prisoner

Any coup in which I might play a part would have to observe no place for any rough stuff. Indeed, this is perhaps the occasion to make one's intentions clear.

One has no personal ambitions in this matter. One need not go so far as to say, in the classic American disavowal, that if nominated one will not stand and if elected one will not serve. If called upon one will, of course, do whatever the country requires. The new regime will, in effect, be a government of national renewal, like they have in Burkina Fasso. Certain economic and social measures will be required and will be placed in the hands of colleagues, all of whom will assume the rank of

After land reforms have been carried out, free elections will be held within five years. At least that is the present intention. One cannot, of course, be bound in advance to an inflexible programme when unforeseeable circumstances may arise. As I think William said to Mary in the Orangery, we shall have to play it

#### EEC aids war on locusts

#### By Alex Scott in Brussels

THE EEC is to finance a crash programme to fight the plague of covering one million hectares of land in eight countries of the Sahel

The world champion and the ready to hatch, and will involve 24 US, Canada, Norway, and other

Andre Auciert, said similar pesti-Sudan in June, and the situation Kasparov and Karpov will find in Ethiopia was not yet dangerous,

# Is a motor mower a vehicle?

#### By Martin Walnwright

THE midnight antics of a drunken lawnmower may have brought but they cheered up a magistrates'

The usual litany of parking offences for the Glastonbury bench was interrupted by the dramatic charges against Mrs Lorna Dowson, aged 35, of Millcorft House. Alhampton: that she drove a motor vehicle, namely a PC Slade appeared, explained; "It battle. Finally we all agree to an ried out during the first two weeks lawnmower, with excess alcohol seemed a fun thing to do at the of September, when the eggs are while disqualified and without time to go and see my colleague.

> home in Neville Park small but powerful cylinders echoed round the cul-de-sac. Or, as he put it: "My attention was drawn to the sound of an

There was the sound of people Running out in his slippers, PC Slade found Mrs Dowson and three friends, all drunk, who had moved a mile through the village to call on a friend in Neville Park and

marks across the lawn of the make." pales international production and the control of the control of the state of the secretary areas in the state

bungalow opposite my house." said riding instructor mounted on a PC Slade. "Further investigations showed that two small fruit trees

Mrs Dowson, who was unable to stop the four-wheeled mower and trailer as PC Slade ran alongside urging her to, told the court: "? should say we were all drunk."

Her brother-in-law, Mr Richard Baker-Hyland, who was sitting on a straw bale in the trailer when Mr Vic Arley."

The court's chairman, Mrs Betty Boyd, gave no opinion on this but agreed with Mrs Dowson's solicitor, Mr Patrick Butler, when he argued: "The case hinges on whether or not a garden mower is a motor vehicle intended or adapted for use on the road. Its mere presence on the road does not make it a motor vehicle."

The bench, she said, was not satisfied beyond all reasonable doubt that the mower was a motor Road Traffic Act. The case was round off Mrs Dowson's birthday therefore not proven. Mrs Dowson "I noticed that there were tyre but have no further comment to

# New Design Selected For Shuttle Boosters

NASA engineers have selected a new booster-rocket design that quarter of 1988. includes a third O-ring seal, increased insulation, heaters and other features intended to prevent recurrence of the Challenger disas- fails, Thomas noted.

of the redesign team at Marshall fire tests using full-size rocket Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala. "Wo've taken every step to design. understand what happened on Challenger and to preclude that from happening again."
The new design, one of several

on the NASA drawing board before the Challenger tragedy Jan. 28, still must survive a gauntlet of tests and analyses, and the composition of the O-ring seals and insulation has not been decided, he

If the design proves effective, adopted, the redesign cost is esti-shuttle flights could resume by the mated at about \$300 million.

A presidential commission con-cluded that the booster joints were National Aeronautics and Space 1986 The Washington Post Co. All rights reserved.

Administration's target of the first

Engineers are "carrying several contingency designs along in par-

segments incorporating the new

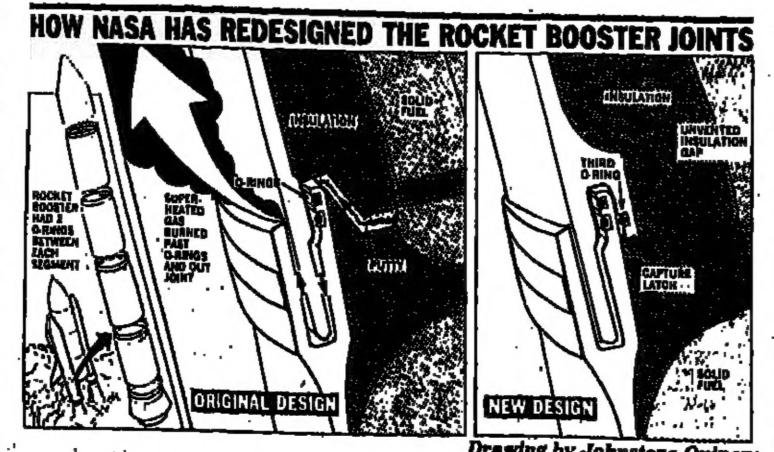
City, Utah.

test procedures are generally shuttle's weight, he said. The design changes permit poorly designed and that an O-ring

allel" in case the primary design "We are well on our way to neers will begin conducting this accomplishing a good, safe rede- fall hundreds of tests on scalesign," said John Thomas, manager model components and soveral hot-

> Late next year, the entire motor design would be tested under fullload conditions for final qualifica-tion. The tests are scheduled at Marshall and also at contractor Morton Thiokol's plant in Brigham

nature of the planned tests are motor segments and would add



Several key questions about the NASA to use existing solid-rocket unresolved, Thomas said. If past only about 1,200 pounds to a

Drawing by Johnstone Quinan unusually cold weather and failed, allowing a plume of white-hot flame to escape.

seals are to be mounted on each

By Kathy Sawyer

bery O-rings were to seal and tongue-and-groove-like joint of the segmented rocket. The new design besides adding a third O-ring and more elaborate insulating putty includes a "capture feature," of clamp, designed to lock the metal joint members together and stall lize the O-ring gap under "worst case" conditions, Thomas said. New materials would be used in the O-rings to make them more resilient and less susceptible temperature variations, he said and small heaters and weather

booster joint. The new booster would perform in temperatures as low as 31 degrees Fahrenheit. When Challenger lifted off, the temperature at the Cape Canaveral launch Challenger's destruction 'and resulted in the deaths of seven crew

AFTER writing about Silbury Hill a few weeks ago I found myself trying to imagine what life was like for those distant ancestors of ours, five thousand years ago. Can we enter into the thoughts of people so remote from us in time and culture?

It is harvest. At Lammas-tide the tribe has witnessed the annual miracle of the hill which is the tice if he could observe the local Great Earth Goddess giving birth moment a priest with a sharp, They would, of course, be using flint-eaged sickle-base out the first sickles with blades of sharp-edged Now is the time to gather the doubtless known as far back as - everybody was roped in. After - I remember cutting barley fields harvest before autumn storms take that. He would have been sur-

dry properly. That does not worry more than forty! the modern farmer. When it rains the combine ceases work, but as been immediately obvious to him soon as the sun shines again it but which would have gradually resumes. If the grain is damp, no emerged if he were able to con- ty on the harvest had been mitimatter. Back at base is a grain- vorse with them, was that they drier which will quickly reduce the were entirely illiterate. The first moisture content to an acceptable form of picture-writing is thought 15 per cent. The combine-harvest- to have originated in ancient ers and the tractors and trailers Sumeria about the time that which serve them, collecting loads Silbury was being built, but certhe barns, are the only evidence of Britain until several thousand village cricket club I knew it was activity in these spacious harvest years later. Some authorities think futile to arrange any fixtures after

five thousand years ago. Then the well have carved notches in a tree And we might just as well have fields would have been filled with branch to record phases of the been as illiterate as the peasants of people. The entire tribe would have been there, from small children gleaning stray ears or chas- distant people, babbling away in a had no time to read them and no ing off rooks and pigeons to old strange tongue and discussing the interest in them. Formers ceased men who could still turn and progress of the harvest, I realised to go to market. We had, of course, spread a sheaf to catch the that the gap between them and no telephone and no wireless. I sunboams. What they knew be- myself was not as great as between wasn't that we were cut off from yound question was that this, for me and the driver of the combine the outside world, it was simply them, was the climax of the year harvester. and upon winning a successful harvest depended whether they still clear in my memory. In the would cat well or go hungry during weeks before we started cutting 1920s and 1930s and the 1940s the coming winter.

From his daily income of 3,000

the loan on his becak. Most drivers

rent theirs, for 300 rupiahs a day,

He ate mainly at a roadside rice

his death. Ma Cicih told me her

story in Sundances, the local lan-

Sukardal told her he had finally

45.000 Rupinhs (about £30) he had

clung to it, but he weakened and

into the lorry too; but he fought

guage of West Java.

but Sukardal wanted indepen-

just one of the 18,000 men in according to Ma Cicih.

feature of life in Indonesian cities. as he lay on the ground, then four

Sukardal was 51, a widower for of them left the lorry and threw

three years. When his eldest him into a ditch. He got up slowly,

daughter Yani married soon after she said, holding on to a police-

his wife's death his two youngest man's leg. The policeman, too, fell

children went to live with relatives down, knocking over Ma Cicah as

in Majalenka, 200 kilometres he did. Then they threw him into

Rupiahs — less than two pounds — struggled free and got out. Ma

he fed and clothed himself, sent Cicih shouted at the police to leave

money to his children, and repaid the becak. They told her not to

stall owned by a widow called Ma was clinging to the side of the

Cicih. She is the only independent lorry. He shouted that if his becak

witness to the events leading up to was confiscated, he would kill

paid the last instalment of the the same moment, she thinks,

borrowed to buy his becak. It had any case, he foll away from the

taken him a year. A week later he lorry. It immediately, sped off,

was caught by the city police at leaving behind four policemen but

night without lights in an area no becak. They carried him to the

prohibited to becaks. The city roadside and propped him by a tree

police attempted to confiscate his next to Ma Cicih's stall, before

handed over the 5,000 Rupiahs When Sukardal came to, Ma

which is the going rate to bribe the Cicih says, he asked her for a pen

Bandung police to look the other and some paper. He gave one letter

way. But it had been a thin day: he to her, saying that if his daughter

didn't have 5,000 Rupiahs on him. Yani wanted to find him, the

becak into their lorry. Sukardal piece of paper he put in his pocket.

So the city police went to lift the answer was in this letter. Another

becak. Normally he would have running after their lorry.

let go. Then they tried to get him, the policemen will die too,"

# Timeless harvest

the combine-harvester driver nopeople harvesting those same fields five thousand years ago? ilinia, but the technique of tying schoolmaster, the postman, the an experience to be engaged in and sheaves with straw bonds was thatcher the vicar the local artist savoured. In 1986 the combine harvesters fulness of the company, carting the sheaves and rick-clouds, I remember hordes of rabare trundling across the extensive Archaeologists have worked out building, and usually another bits escaping from the same fields. arable fields of the Wiltshire that when Stonehenge and team was at work cutting the I remember stooking a field of countryside around Silbury. The 'Avebury were built 50 per cent of grain and stacking the sheaves in sheaves, then after rain throwing weather is, to use a descriptive the people were aged less than stocks. Wessex word, "caddling" . . . too twenty years, 48 per cent less than many showers to allow the grain to forty years, and only two per cent pushed push-chairs, which the

One thing which would not have tea and sandwiches, to the harvest tainly it did not find its way to forgotten. As secretary of our the Silbury people may have been the end of July. August was It would have been far different innumerate, too, though they may virtually a non-existent month

The harvests of the 1920s are to matter to us.

But Sukardal was desperate. He

interfere. Sukardal, meanwhile,

Peter Hiett In Jakarta on the

suicide that mirrors a

country's Ills

called on the police to leave the

becak. She says she heard a voice

say "Alright, put one down." At

Sukardal must have fainted. In

"I will die," he said, "and tomorrow

Early next morning street boys



occasional female. The date to any harvest. Harvest was all, it needed a team of seven, as from which blue butterflies; many well as a boy to lead the horses, for of them now rare, emerged in

Mothers with small children children shared with cans of hot fields. Although by that date the entire dependence of the communigated, for there were now shops where provisions could be purchased, the old traditions still

Silbury. Even if daily papers had But as I thought about those been obtainable we would have that the outside world had ceased

the grain the local farmers toured too, though by the 1940s the world What other differences would the village, enlisting the aid of was beginning to impinge on our Driven to despair

particularly other becak-drivers.

the public's donation with an equal

to write about it any more. They

also say the policeman who kicked

time, they know, it may be turned

mayor's permission.

THERE was nothing special about them off. In falling he kicked one came to Ma Cicih's house. Sukardal, until he died. He was of the policemen - by accident, Sukardal had hanged himself, they said, outside a retired general's Bandung who pedal becaks, the The way she tells it, the police- house, with a note round his neck and, gibbering, I gallop out, my impulse, I went in. bicycle rickshaws that are such a man kicked Sukardal in the chest saying in part "the city police are uncivilised . . . I die because of the

Sometimes, worse things hap- nightdresses?" I heard myself ask police dog." The full contents of the pen. Sometimes I fall under a ing. note are not known. The police terrible spell that holds me immobile in front of the shelves, able nodded. She put a ladder against Yani lives in a three-room slum only to stare at the hundreds of some shelves, clumbered up, with with seven other people. She de- tins or sheets or skirts while time drew a box, clambored down sno scribes her father as silent, wellticks away and the grave looms. Or put it in front of me. On its lid was behaved, but with many friends, I drift about like a sleepwalker, written "Nightdress." She opened jaw slack, arms hanging, picking the box and took it out. She says that driving a becak up things and putting them down, my mind a vast blank, my shop-For days after his death, other ping list unticked, while all becak-drivers visited his grave. A around me other more talented local newspaper opened a subscripshoppers are choosing, deciding, tion for his children, and matched

paying and going. amount. Even the city administra- do they put on what scales to tip them into purchase? Why the blue The case was reported with and not the black, the flowers and feeling in Indonesia's newspapers not the stripes, the pineapple then suddenly dropped. Journalists chunks and not the slices, this in all the shops in all the tours.

unsavoury episode in New York and silk and satin and polyest Sukardal was charged with man- which involved setting out one slaughter but the case was morning to spend ten minutes The city authorities are still seeing one thousand pairs of black extraordinarily sensitive. I ar- shoes (leather, kid, patent, broranged to see the mayor and the cade, embroidered, stitched, quiltchief of the city police, but the ed, square-toed winkle-toed, openmayor declined to keep the ap- toed, high-backed, sling-backed, pointment. The chief of police said no-backed, flat, stacked, stilettoed) he could not comment without the and returning at twilight shoeless. very nearly footless and complete-Sukardal was typical of the ly crazed, I tried to come to terms with my handicap. I stopped shopworking, intensely loyal to his ping in cities, where the strain of family. When the authorities drove choice is unremitting, and only him to despair, he turned his allowed myself into the stores of violence against himself. Another

yet more rain, cutting the bonds

WHEN I first went to Canada, someone told me of a recent knew the English words for only one meal. Every day for three weeks he went into the local diner Next day he gave his new order: was too ingrained. I began to spend "Toasted cheese, waffle."

them out again to dry, then, after

"Canadian, English, Scotch, Irish?" the waitress asked. "White, rye, pumpernickel, granary. holewheat? Pickle, gherkin, may-thing either if I had too little. onnaise, mustard, lettuce, tomato, bacon? Ice-cream, honey, syrup, molasses? Huh? Huh?"

The poor guy shrugged, defeated. "Spaghetti, apple pie," he said. I felt a deep compassion for that man. Still do. Choice is the silver price and go straight to be lining of the consumer society but for certain afflicted persons such turned you on the spit: "Could as myself, it is the cloud. In theory, expect choice, am glad of it. In marked down by 50p if you'd kep practice it lays me low, like some those vouchers and bothered to mysterious Victorian wasting sick- cross the road. Sizzle then, you ness. Five minutes of exposure to sinner. Fry!" choice in any shop is all I can take. After that, my eyes begin to water, Setting out on a 30-mile journey to my head pounds, the palms of my buy a nightdress. I stopped in hands grow damp, phantom fin- nearby village to get petrol and gers tighten around my throat saw a little draper's shop. Un

How do they do it? What weights For a second time, Ma Cicih say they were instructed by the department and not that, this shop the blue, pink, black, white high security authorities in Jakarta not and not the next?

> the more compact towns I happened to be passing like Canter-

meals with our backs against their walls. But I couldn't put a date to any one of those experiences. They are just details in one eternal timeless harvest. The more I think about it, the more I realise that we came near to bridging the gap between us and

the illiterate cultures of primitive Britain. Those young people harvesting their crops around the hill had no records to feed their mem. ory. Some of them might recall some dramatic event during last harvest, or was it the harvest

THE GUARDIAN, August 31, 1937

and carting the grain and straw

loose. I remember building

wheat ricks and enjoying picnic

Whenever It was, the memor would soon fade. But harvest was timeless. It was a natural phenonenon that always came round a the appointed time. It was hardly feature of either Past or Future it was the eternal Present.

Spoilt for choice

Chester, where they only had forty of everything and I had some immigrant from Hungary who chance of a purchase before the moon came out. Then I arrived here, in the deep countryside. No shops or few and and gave his order: "Spaghetti, small and far. You'd think I'd have taught him another combination. a choice, us opposed to making one,

hours driving to the nearest small town, convinced that though couldn't buy anything if I had to much choice. I couldn't buy an-I mean, you had to compare.

didn't you? You had to do a bit of shopping about. Otherwise you might make a bad buy, in the notquite-right-shade, in the not-fully guaranteed brand, at not the rig Where Satan would sneer, 89 he have bought the family-size

But two days ago I was saved

The woman behind the counter I looked at it. After a moment

said: "Is this the only one?" "It is." the woman said. "No other colours?"

"None." "No other pattern?"

"What about size?"

"It's a nightdress," she mildly astonished. "Fits all sizes I thought of all the nightdress. dresses cut low and high, with late and spots and flowers; of cotton

"I'll have it," I said. The nightdress is und tinguished. It has a round neck long sleeves, an uneven hem, a lo nasty blue and I love it: It cost m or thought and when I put it of wasn't richer or poorer, happier of better at my job or worse, nearer, God or further. I was me in a room

Salzburg is bewitched

FEW new operas pack such a powerful and immediate punch as the latest from Krzystof Penderecki, The Black Mask, commissioned for this year's Salzburg Festival and given to its world premiere at the Kleines Festspielhaus.

Over the years no composer with avant-garde pretensions has been so shrewd as Penderecki at suiting his music to his audience. Adventuring within fine limits you keep the results entertaining to a wide audience. Remembering his successes in Salzburg in the past, he has produced - in close collaboration with the stage producer Harry Kupfer - what the programme note describes as a psycho-thriller, a single 100-minute act that batters the listener into submission with no let-up.

tactics been so shamelessly used. as far as Shostakovich. The piece is Strauss's Salome, gives the perforpointfully thematic, with a main mance of a lifetime. The voice is istic and the expressionistic. The back to the big dramatic gestures ic scene superbly, when for over 15 | receiving room to a slightly raised with emotion. The acting of both of such early Penderecki works as minutes she has a long solo platform equipped with a sofa the St Luke Passion.

with such opera subjects as it is hardly her fault that the role Strindberg's Miss Julie and even fails to develop. Much of the rest

dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann, ders in persuading the Vienna and together with Kupter simply Philharmonic Orchestra to play snipped it discreetly to make a with total commitment and power libretto, removing the heavy his- in an idiom far removed from its torical and philosophical discus- usual repertory.

sions and building up the role of

Amsterdam merchant and in effect

each representing one of the reli-

teenth century. The scene is

plague after the Thirty Years War

timpani cadenzas and bogy music

at the very start.). The local

mayor, Schuller, brings together in

his house at carnival time a broad

range of visitors, Catholic, Protes-

tant, Huguenot, Jansenists and

behind that scheme is watered

down in the opera in favour of

matic nub of the story, when the

mayor's wife, the beautiful

figure. The Black Mask. It is her

past come to haunt her, for years

earlier she was party to the

nurder of her first husband. The

Black Mask is later revealed in a

brief violent appearance as her

former Negro lover, the murderer.

He is in Kupfer's production who

in a final vision of destruction

beyond the grave dances in voodoo

triumph, while Perl sadly looks on.

The one earthly survivor from the

.What the composer and producer

have done is to present explicitly

the violence merely implied in the

original play, heightening and

intensifying but prudifying too. The bedrock character Perl, the

Hauptmann's didactic purpose

Silesia, run down and afflicted by

the wandering Jew.

OPERA: Edward Greenfield on a

triumphant new production

of 13 characters, Lowel Perl, an success with grandly mouldering

The neatness of Hauptmann's Schavernoch. The whole oblong o

has plausibly created a gallery of scenium is canted 10 degrees or so

concentrating on the big melodra- even longer and even more master-

original scheme lies in the way he the stage picture within the pro

sharply contrasted characters. over to the left, a twisted vision



Josephine Barstow as Benigna

wandering Jew, is superbly sung by Gunter Reich. But it's Bonigna, who is given an even more demanding part both musically and dramatically. Josephine Barstow, building on her experience singing the comparably neurotic role of rarely beautiful but she rises to designer Gunilla Palmstierna- Berndl as her placatory, pallid the challenge of the central climat- Weiss, has reduced Mrs Borkman's sister still incites herself to shake narration, telling her life story to | against sombre backdrops and set that you see them altered by fury. Perl, ending in a burst of hysteria. | in the white surrounds which will It is a virtuoso performance and | become the snowy landscape of the

Kupfer's spectacular production

plays a key part in the opera's

costumes by Reinhard Heinrich

and eerie, surreal sets by Hans

a twisted world. At the very start

the great wall of mirrors which

reflects us, the audience, with-

draws in an arc, revealing a grand

colour has been removed. The

mirror wall remains diagonally on

the left and through it at intervals

you get the vision of a world in

ruins, at the end overtaking every-

not be part of the original play bu

Theatre has seen the revival of an

thing. That social comment may

no-one could think the point irrele-

Otherwise the small Festival

ly one-actor, Strauss'a Capriccio in l

Johannes Schaaf's equivocal pro-

duction, dodging back and forth

ies. Horst Stein as conductor draws

even louder playing from the

Vienna Philharmonic than last

year, undermining the sweetness

of Anna Tomowa Sintow's voice as

the Countess, when too often she is

forced to strain, even in the lovely

own production of Bizet's Carmen.

Carmen with its sets by Gunther

Schneider-Siemssen stretching

luxuriously in full realistic detail

stage.

another of last year's novelties.

Herbert Von Karajan in the big

closing scene.

between the 18th and 20th centur-

The room in which her husband - what a thought for Mozart's consists of complex and busy en- John Gabriel, the Messianic finanbirthplace - Peter Shaffer's sembles, vividly sung and superbly | cier, has confined himself for years Amadeus. It is a wonder no one controlled by the conductor after release from prison for em- quite convincingly sacrifices sexsuggested an operatic version of Waldemar Nelsson, chosen be- bezzlement is conceived on a larger ual love for an almost Hitlerian that other Salzburg special. The cause Kupfer had already worked scale but maintains the same Bayreuth production of The Flying | sharply tilted floor on which foot-Dutchman. Nelsson also does won. steps reverberate cerily, empty of in a performance which utterly

Bergman finds fire at the heart of Ibsen canvas and a row of upright accusatory chairs and a piano. The sense of emptiness engendered by this undomesticated dislocated room is powerful and dis-

focus with almost film-like clarity indulgent gloominess and strips upon his isolated character. He away the marks of naive symboldiagnoses Borkman, Gunhild, the wife who hates him and her dying It emerges faithful to late Ibsen sister Ella, who was once the financier's real love, as absolute que settling of family debts and fantasists. It is this quality which makes them as fiercely emotional and distraught as young things. before have I been so riveted or

turbing. But it enables Bergman to

reunited sisters meet and face oach other in a long silence you'll recognise their flerce and old

> THEATRE: Nicholas de Jongh reports from the King's, Edinburgh

hatreds. Christine Buchegger as this emotion with her pathetic and remote from her, And Christa

Bergman may have exiled melodrama but he has replaced it with the antagonisms of the modern family at civil war.

John Gabriel, Ibsen's alter ego. dream of power and a capitalist atmosphere of cold bleakness: a kingdom of benign creation, is played by Hans Michael Rehberg furniture except for a wall-to-floor surpasses those of Wolfit or Rich-the production.

ardson. He has all the pathos of Bergman's lost grandeur but makes him also a man besieged by

regrets and losing hold of reality. The dissociation between his stiff, frock coated straight-backed decorum and his sudden flurries o wildness is complete. It's a perfor mance of startling physical dynami ic: the trembling hand raised aloft before collapse; the pacing of his room in a crazed, loping, compulsive stride, and, behind his back fingers fluttering in uncontrollable spasms of energy. In the first thrilling encounter with his estranged wife they sit opposite each other, almost crouching, bodies bent right forward spitting their litanies of abuse - like wild animals whose malice will encourage them to fall upon each other at

any moment. When Erhart Borkman, the weak son in whom all three repose their hopeless hopes, returns with his older femme fatal (Rita Russek in plaited hair and peachy silk, looking too much the fin de siecle courtesan), they be-

Only in the difficult final act after the facade of the house has disappeared, behind black drapes and the stage is all snowy landscape does Bergman falter. Rehberg gradually discarding his outdoor clothes does not reach the hallucinated climax that Ibsen

ironic reconciliation between the death. As a result the play does not But these details do not detract from the accumulated impact of

## A former master rediscovered

FILMS: Derek Malcolm at the Edinburgh Film Festival

val, which can generally be relied film-maker who worked in Britain in the thirties before moving to

INGMAR BERGMAN'S revelatory

production of John Gabriel Bork-

man for the Bavarian State

Theatre of Munich rescues this

play of revenants and recrimina-

tions from the pitfalls of melodra-

moved by Ibsen: the production

both a blow to the jingoistic belief

in the supremacy of our directors

and actors, and a further vindica-

tion of Frank Dunlop's interna-

Bergman has done away with

ing room and all the distracting

paraphernalia, imposing sparse,

clear outlines and a design which

suitably wavers between the real-

born and now naturalised Briton ing guest at the Festival, frequentshort by the political witch-hunts more time and money. To which of the McCarthy era. But what this the only reply must be that he did valuable restrospective shows is them bloody well under the cir- find next. that you can, through sheer wit cumstances, quota quickies or not. and professionalism, make the sharp, spikey and relevant.

budgets, look much the same as some point in doing so, since what fe any of those television oldies they this beautiful, rather melancholy programme in the afternoons for British road movie lacks is exactly nostalgic housewives. But, judg- what made Vorhaus into a formiding by those I saw, they almost able film-maker. always go beyond their strict confines somewhere or other. And besides that, they are usually great fun.

learnt watching movies like The But it still hasn't cracked the Last Journey from 1935 and Dusty exigencies of the narrative process. Ermine from 1936 - let alone projects such as The Spiritualist theatre next door has revived his from his later American period. story. The first is that there is absolutely no substitution for proper story-You might call it the Cinerama telling, on whatever humble level. The second is that film-makers voiced jester. The man (John Hurt) don't operate at their best in isolation. They are products of from side to side of the enormous

Cinema Action is a collective that has moved from making overt political films into an area that is intended to be more gentle, and There are two lessons to be hopefully more widely, persuasive. It keeps getting side-tracked in Rocinante from telling a proper

The film takes its two leading characters across Dartmoor, accompanied by Ian Dury's gravelhas been forced on the road having been turfed out of a derelict their time, and conflict with it and cinema, where perhaps, some of

EDINBURGH'S 40th Film Festi- other practitioners at every point. Vorhaus's images of England have To discover Vorhaus is not to been screened. The reality is someupon to produce something out of unearth a lost genius, but to find a what different - a land of myths the hat that can't be termed sharply defined talent beavering and history and traditions, reduced conventional British Cinema, has away at compromise and limita- by an upsurge of repression into given us all a lesson this year tions until he makes something of something less than it should be. about what conventional really them. You suddenly realise that The woman (Maureen Douglass) is means by putting on a retrospec- Hitchcock and Lean did not spring fighting against this dying of the tive of the work of Bernard up out of nowhere but from a story- light as much as the man has Vorhaus, a hitherto totally telling tradition that others, like opted out. The jester observes and unremembered and uncelebrated Vorhaus, had fostered alongside comments upon their predicament.

Elsewhere, the Festival has pro-Vorhaus himself, now in his vided joys and disappointments in eighties but looking hardly much almost equal proportion, much like The point is that this American- over 70, was a modest and charm- any other. But Edinburgh is differnever made anything like an art ly protesting that he might have most such events to illuminate the movie in his entire career, cut produced better films with a little byways of cinema as well as to advertise the main roads. You never know what you are going to

A film from Mali, brought along by It is not very wise, nor even fair a participant in the Third Cinema ordinary look unordinary and the to contrast this sort of work with Conference, was shown as an extra conventional into something Cinema Action's most ambitious and made its mark totally unexfilm project yet - Rocinante, with pectedly. This was Cheick Oumar On the surface, his British films, John Hurt, Maureen Douglass, Sissoko's Lessons From The Garoften made in a hurry and on low and Ian Dury. Even so, there is bage, a simple story of a poor ness of approach that is emphasised by some stunning music and natural performances.

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Dilemmas

Resistance

By Stuart Hood

LA DOULEUR, by Marguerile

A GESTAPO agent in Paris courts

Resistance, whose husband he has

sent to a concentration camp. She

strings him along so that the

Resistance can mark him down

and kill him. The Liberation inter-

venes. He is arrested and executed

His ambition has been to have a

The same young woman is driv-

en through Paris after the Liber

ation with a young Fascist mil.

tiaman who is possibly about to be

executed. She understands how the

lure of fast cars had made the boy

a collaborator. She feels sexually

After the Liberation she con-

ducts the interrogation of an elder-

ly informer who is merciless

torturers had learned their tech

nique from beatings at the hands

Along with crowds of other

women she goes daily to se

whether her husband's name is on

the lists of survivors of the concer-

tration camps. He is brought home

She nurses him to recovery then

another man, a comrade from the

The young woman is Marguerite

Durns herself, who years later

found the record of these incideals

in a couple of exercise boks. L

Douleur, she says is one of the

most important things in her life

yet she has no recollection of

It is an understandable amnesia

for this is an account of the moral

dilemmas of the Resistance, of the

terrible methods such a movement

is forced to adopt, of the bruts-

lisation of those who fight for the

good cause against a mercies

enemy, of sudden pungs of pity for

that enemy - she obsessive

romembers a sixteen year of

German boy dying in the street -

mixed with hatred for what the

onemy represents, the appalling

Her fear was that in records

To read this account of t

ull this - which she does wit

truth of the concentration camp

having written it.

tells him she is leaving him for

in the last stages of debilitation

beaten to extract a confession.

fine art bookshop.

drawn to him.

of the secret police.

Resistance.

a young women, a member of the

Duras. (Collins, £8.95.)

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FLYING TO GATWICK?

'So weary, deadly weary of writing': Ronald Blythe reviews the letters of a Polish gentleman and inciplent genius

# From the heart of Conrad's loneliness

THE COLLECTED LETTERS OF JOSEPH CONRAD, VOLUME 2 1898-1902, edited by Frederick R Karl and Laurence Davies (Cambridge, £27.50).

THERE is an acute species melancholy attached to the early days of authorship which is often have imagined the Conrad Chance and its revered and lucrative successors.

The period covered by these letters is that of risk and loss blessings, a wife who could type as well as create the high standard of domestic order he needed, their first son and, from the very beginning, the inestimable friendship of Edward Garnett, prince of publishers' advisers, were themselves a reproach for they had to be justi-

Worst of all there was the new and still strange vacuum of the study which he had to enter each morning — or each midnight often enough in his case. This and the incredible absence of the sea. Instead there were the horrible Essex marshes, dank and crime-

Eight months into the letters Ford Madox Hueffer was to rescue him from the latter by installing him at Pent Farm near Sandgate and within a stone's throw, comparatively speaking, of the current Olympians, including Henry James, Galsworthy and H. G. Wells. Such proximity was apt to be more crushing than anything else. There was too Conrad's natural grandeur as a Polish gentle-

# Altonso to Zerlina

WHO'S WHO IN MOZART'S OPERAS, by Joachim Kaiser (Weidenfeld, £12.95).

FROM Alfonso to Zerlina, as the subtitle runs, this guide bears witness to the drawing power of Mozart's operas by giving us a few pages on each character in the seven mature masterpieces.

This may sound a notably oldfashioned enterprise, redolent of late Victorian works such as The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines. The author, however, is a musicologist and a man of sonse: if

all he is the person to bring it off. He is aware that Mozart's extraordinary ability to bring characters to individual life works through the music: an elementary point, yet often ignored.

His remarks, pawky and a trifle long-winded in a German tradition (one can imagine him as a benevolent uncle in a Singspiel Mozart didn't get round to writing), should be of help to singers and producers at least. The guidance afforded them is much more down-to-earth than the dedication of Jean-Pierre Ponnelle might suggest. The translation by Charles Kessler reads

New books sent worldwide. A types, from single books to library supply. Mastercard/Visa accepted. Devices Books, Monday Market St., Devices, Willehire, U.K. effect of which on others often literary friends R. B.

From the first he knew he was ist grandee who was thought by isolated and that every now and some to be the rightful King of then he would need to make simple Scotland, the wise Edward Garand direct statements about him- nett, H. G. Wells (the friendship self — "I have never fostered any illusions as to my value. You may ary agent J. B. Pinker (Conrad's believe me implicitly when I say that I never work in a self-satisfied elation . . . " He is remonstrating to Blackwood the publisher who, like his agent Pinker, goes a bit too far with his advice. At this moment both these men are hopefully thinking of Conrad as a superior yarn-spinner for boys.

He had joined the French merchant navy at 16, wild about the sea - some said because of reading Victor Hugo's Toilers of the Sea in his father's translation

Conrad c1900 taken by Wolls.

but it wasn't until he was in his

early thirties that he began to

write what would become after

some years and much shaping (and

getting lost on voyages) Almayer's

lish by reading cast coast newspa-

pers and talking to his East

Anglian shipmates "each built as

He was 37 when he gave up the

sea as a career and retained it as a

though to last for ever, and col-

oured like a Christmas card".

ing, and, in their different ways, are giving support to the tortured tenant of Pent Farm. Conrad's response is open and passionate. His loneliness shows. There is dawning respect and success, says Laurence Davies, yet "the letters abound in unhappiness". But it is not the life-lasting gloom of some writers but the sadness of a stage of development which writers, and artists of all

business of not delivering on time

deserves a place alongside Dr

Johnson's thunderclap against pa-

trons), William Blackwood, Ford,

the generous Galsworthy, a rich

and practical friend, and an ex-

change of mutual appreciation

with Arnold Bennett. All these

writers in particular are clearly

aware that a novelist who is quite

unlike any other novelist is emerg-

There are also many letters to

correspondence is so compelling. he was a boy except ship's crews and their mixture of reticence and closeness nor space. Jessie Conrad Folly, having taught himself Engthough once she is described as feelings guided by the intelligence er's daughter, a large, capable enough at that time."

force for an entirely new kind of profound and stylistically sumptu-Conrad did all he could to under- but they help. ous. It was hard to write and hardest of all at the time these stand his place in the scheme of The editing is impeccable - and things, says Davies, facing "the the binding a treat."

They are chiefly to his first problem in terms of family, profession, the sense of his own being national and historical identity Cunninghame Graham, the socialand the physical universe itself Most of all, he "sought to locate himself as a writer".

The hugeness of what he had seen, and maybe of what he had done, in comparison with his novamazing use of a foreign language. made such a placing nigh impossi ble. Where was he? Who and what was he? The big first batch of letters do not wholly answer these questions but they are satisfyingly informative all the same.

We do come much nearer to Conrad because of them. He made little up. Cunninghame Graham, writing to Edward Garnett about The Heart of Darkness, said that it was written "in the fervent contemplation of his tracks," and this masterpiece and all the rest of the work relied upon old sea-lanes retravelled, old companions rejoined But this kind of passage, often by pencil, was harder toil than sailing and he was constantly "so weary, deadly weary of writing"

There was never a moment's letup. Fresh tales pushed their way forward before he could find structures for them. "My head is full of a story. I have not been able to sorts, will recognise, which is why this particular volume of the eight write a single word - except the which will contain all Conrad's title which shall be I think NOSTROMO; the story belonging Family life itself is still odd to to the 'Karain' class of tales ('K him. He has known nothing since class for short - as you classify the cruisers.)"

Like many stylists, he was someemotion, but on vast voyages he times unnerved by the possibility has witnessed everything, most of losing "myself in a wilderness of particularly imperialism in mo- endeavour"and of "verbiage", and tion. His is not an innocent's eye. to this day we read him and are In the farmhouse there is neither foxed by his artistry and his daring. He is lastingly mysterious accorded dutiful courtesies. Seeing so many words, we think he "my wife, a person of simple Explaining the deliberately bald ending of Lord Jim to Blackwood of the heart". She was a booksell- he says: "The reader ought to know

woman on whom he depended for Will he know enough from the his spick and span home, secretar- 1898-1902 Letters to know how the ial requirements and punctual patrician merchant seaman from Poland stepped straight to the During these crucial four years. centre of English literature? No -

UNFINISHED JOURNEY, by book that was to be, he suspected,

Travel in mind

"IN THE end, it is the work that On the way, he visited Sri Lanka, matters, not the relationship." It is that sad island. An Unfinished

At worst, there were those who merciless truth about them. held that books published as the It was his fastidiousness that My Brother and I, one of the reprinted pieces of journalism here, is perfectly typical, in fact, of S. It is written with the sinewy grace the brothers shared, but has the special movement Shiva's mind, always so pleasant to follow. There is an air fastidious dismay, sometimes difficult to distinguish from an air of

consedy. Their readers had hoped, in this matter of sorting out one brother from the other where there is such dissimilarity in their very resemblances, to have years ahead of them: Shive having merely though richly, begun. Then, a year ago, he died, aged. 40. And alas, this little book of scraps is the last By Edward Blishen

would (he hoped) be the book itself.

caused him to home in on the imposter, and on pretentious or pompous persons. He says it was at an early age, recoiling from those who compared him to his brilliant elder brother, that he was made sensitive to discourtesy and stupidity. It seems to me that both Naipauls, masters of the pitiless portrait, miss an important middle ground of judgement; confusion and failure and absurdity sometimes representing a necessary condition of human growth, and not simple stupidity. But when Shive had a silly or impolite or conceited person in his sights, he

could do thrilling justice to the eyes and contemptuous truth of ance is a great tragedy.

There is all that was written of a some aspects of the cult of the ity and precision - she might be but still it leaves things out,

lessly sentimental.

He says, ruefully, that people would stop him in the street is to turn it into a crime committed because they liked his face. Well, it by everyone" and to share it just because they liked his face. Well, it was a good face: and its disappear-

honosty, lack of self-pity, human Australian aborigine. This is anguilty of producing "literature" l Shive Naipaul (Hamish Hamilton, about Australia. He couldn't write other valuably astringent example a synopsis ever, so the only answer of a cant-exposing specialist at Doulour is the work of a course to the question "Why Australia?" work and in places it is very funny,

It is not in the end fair to discuss "tremendous chaos of thought and this kind of thing is to be done at Shiva Naipaul, discussing the dif- Journey is the beginning of his had to do was to elect to become a the question as if all the aborigine feeling" Marguerite Duras experienced in those twilight days be ficulty of being a remarkable account of that visit. In it he is at fully paid-up modern Australian, writer whose brother is a remark- his devastating best. There are and all his white sympathiser had and the return of something three or four portraits that have a to do was to stop being thoughting experience. It not only recall Writing about India ("How did it nightmares of the past but tor

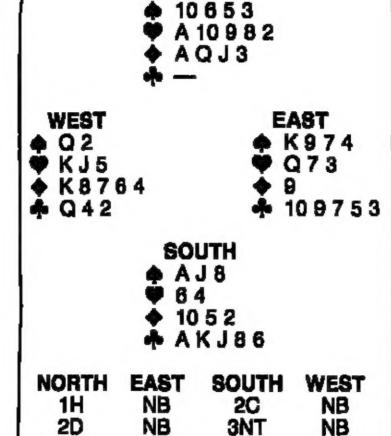
happen that the Gandhi-Nehru one to think of the resistant legacy decayed into the shabbiest idolatry of family?"), or about the age, of their brutality, of the lazy nature of the concept of the traumas which human beings Third World, Naipaul must make flict on each other in the pursuit of us grieve for the loss of such a freedom or of millenary dreams of disturber of stagnant ideas. When on the other side of the barricade fastidiousness becomes a major in the defence of tyranny. instrument by which human affairs are judged, problems arise: but heaven knows we have a deep need of that note of haughty disgust, especially when allied to Shiva Naipaul's comic gift, and to a curious quality, not absolutely unlike tenderness, that is coiled up inside his hauteur.

those difficult times in 1945, quite clear about the nature of the problem of evil in our times and give a German, and not a col lective interpretation to the Nat horror you reduce the man Belsen to regional dimensions. The only possible answer to this crime like the ideals of equality and

Marguerite Duras was, even

Bridge By Rixi Markus®

THE results of this year's final of the Sullivan Powell Challenge Competition for non-expert teams of four were: 1 Andover 149 v.p.; 2, Kirkcudbright 107 v.p.; 3, Newcastle-under-Lyme 107 v.p.; 4, Marconi 106 v.p. Here is a hand which helped Andover to their convincing victory. Game all; dealer

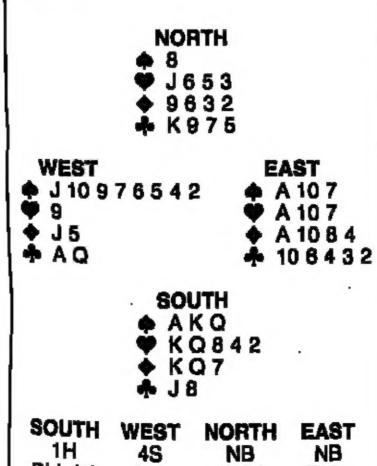


West led the six of diamonds, taken lack held the second trick, East but Flear did it against Mestel with KP ly that East's spade discard marked him with length in the suit, declarer eased his communication problems by playing a small spade to the eight and

2D

West switched to a heart to the ten and queen, and East now switched to the ten of clubs. As the cards actually lay, many lines of play would succeed at this point. However, South found a distribution: he went up with the ace clubs and continued with the jack of spades. This developed the second make certain of his contract, while the same time preserving the ace of spades as an entry to the closed hand and repeat the marked diamond finesse. This line of play guaranteed nine tricks in the form of two spades, one heart, four diamonds and two clubs, and it was typical of the

accurate dummy play which the Andover team displayed This second hand comes from the final of the Portland challenge Cup, the Inter-university teams of four championship. The winners were Manchester University, with Oxford second, and Southampton third. Dealer, South at

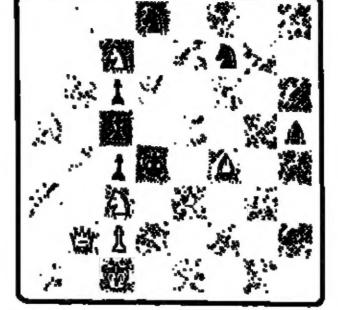


Dble(1) NB (1) I always tell new partners who do not know my style that, unless the opponents are obviously sacrificing. never double high-level contracts if do not hold a useful hand including at least one trump trick. In my exper-

lence, doubling without trump tricks is a common source of disaster. (2) Any player who passes 4S and then removes his partner's double to 5H shows a lack of discipline. 5H is certain to cost points and, even if 4S doubled might make from time to time, It must be best to accept South's decision to defend.

5H doubled went four down: +1,100 to East-West when they were doomed to lose -500 in 48 doubled,

Chess By Leonard Barden No. 1921



latest, against any defence (by Martinek). The black king, stranded in mid-board, has no legal moves, but the answer requires a subtle regroup.

Solution No. 1920 White K at K7, R at Q2, B at K3, Ps at QR4, QB3, KN5, KR3 and KR6. Black K at KR4, Ps at QB2, KN3, KR5 and KR2. Mate in four. 1 R-Q5. If 1 . . . P-B4 2 B-B1 P-B5 3

R-Q2 KxP 4 R-Q5 mate. If 1 . . . P-B3 2 R-R5 P-B4 3 BxP KxP 4 B-K3 mate. ALMOST on the stroke of midnight, the final game of the Kleinwort Grieveson British Championship at Southampton created an unresolved triple tie. Theory says that a lone rook can only draw against rook and two pawns when and RP, his king blockading one pawn

Now Chandler, Mestel and Speelman, the grandmaster trio of 1984 this autumn for the title. Their 8/11 was followed by Flear and King 71/2, Adams. Basman. Condle. Conquest, Hodgson, Lawton, McDonald and Watson 7. The GMs thus narrowly best off the hungry young IMs in their early twenties, some of whom will surely become GMs themselves in the next Michael Adams's IM norm at age 14

the approximate order of merit:

13. unbeaten, performance rating Henrique Mecking, age 14.3, South American world title zonal 1966, 1st-4th with 121/2/17, performance ratna about 2550. 3. Adams, age 14.9, performance

rating about 2530. 4. Nigel Short, age 14.7, Hastings 1979-80, score 8/15, performance rat-5. Short, age 14.2, British Cham-

. "Bony" ran Gaul in style (7).

Decline with little hesitation (6).

. At sea no rating is lacking in

12. Sort of wolves apparently extinct?

Sprite to work for a hag (7).

knowledge (8).

and the state of t

RUFUS

nary sort (5, 6).

performance rating about 2470. Short's two results, one in a GM tournament and the other tied for first prize in the British, included Individual victories over strong GMs and arguably ranks superior to Adams who

"only" beat three IMs. The overall pattern of British talen shown by the championship is distinctly healthy. Almost all the prize winners are aged under 30, and behind them waves of ever-younger mini-genera tions are gaining high class experience; 15-year-olds Hennigan and Quillan made excellent debuts. I contrast the national championships of our rivals Hungary, Yugoslavia and the US have a distinctly middle-aged look, while the 1986 USSR champlon Caeshkovsky, at 42, is probably older than any of the 62 finalists at South-

Two speedy grandmaster wins at outhamoton:

Demetrios Agnos—GM Jim Plaskett Pirc Defence (Kielnwort Grieveson 2 P-Q4 N-KB3 1 P-K4 P-Q3 3 N-QB3 P-KN3 4 B-N5 QN-Q2 5 P-B4 P-KR3 6 B-R4 B-N2

P-K5 N-R4 White's seventh looks premature (7 Q-Q2) and now Black is ready to meet 8 Q-Q2 by NxBP 9 QxN P-KN4 10 Q-N3 PxP. However, White could play it KN-K2 when if NxBP 9 NxN P-KN4 10

8 N-Q57 P-QB3! 9 NxP PxP The winning tactical point; if 12 PxN

Q-N5 ch picks up the bishop. 13 Q-Q2 N-N5 Threatens the QP. another concealed tactic. 14 Q-K2 ch K-B1 15 QxN Q-N5 ch

16 K-Q1 P-KB41 17 Resigns For if 17 QxNP QxP ch and Black either takes the rook with check or wins the queen by 17 K-K2 N-B5 ch This was a first round game; the 16year-old White player, yet another unior debutant, soon recovered and inished with 50 per cent. Felika Kwiatkowski-

**GM Jonathan Speelman** Sicilian Defence (Kleinwork Grieveson 1986)

1 P-K4 P-QB4 2 N-KB3 N-QB3 4 NxP N-B3 5 N-QB3 P-Q3 6 B-KN5 B-Q2 7 B-K2 P-QF3 8 Q-Q2 P-K3 9 O-O-O P-H3 10 B-R4 B-K2 11 P-B4 O-O

This line of the Richter Attack (6 E KN5) is well analysed but is still trappy requiring precision. Here White should prefer 12 K-N1 or 12 N-N3. 12 ... Q-R4 14 PxP 13 P-K5 PxP

14 BxN BxB 15 QxB PxP 16 K-N1 looks a better chance. 17 QxB QR-Q1 16 BxN BxB

18 OXNP If 18 Q-R4 Q-K6 ch 19 K-N1 regains the plece and Black's extra pawn will

18 . . . Q-85 ch 18 K-N1 R-N1 20 Q-B3 RxP chi 21 Resigna If 21 KxR R-N1 ch mates, or If 21 K-

EXMOOR: Fine, mid-August rain seven-year-olds with points a'top. grass moors were a sea of silver- were in "velvet" and there was no green, shading here and there sign that the blood-rich memwhere sedge predominated. In ex- branes which nourish the growing posed places the wind had flat- horns had started to peel off. Clad Occasionally there were groups of through the bracken without upbog asphodels and we disturbed a setting the stags. Half-n-mile on few snipe, but we were searching we located a group of hinds. Until for deer. We ate lunch in the the annual muting season — the mances for a player so young. This is | shelter of some stream-side beech - rut — stags and hinds tend to lead trees. Where, on a day such as this, separate lives. At Powderham in 1. Bobby Fischer, age 14.9. US | would the deer be? Even as the Devon, only a couple of days question arose several stays were previously, we had been watching not far away, keeping a wary eye the emparked herd of fallow deer. on us. We noticed them later on, in Nearly 50 stags of all ages had a small combe. They had the congregated in a corner of the advantage of height as, a few at a park. Their varying colour view their lines of escape. Other their delicate movements made a members of the herd continued to magnificent sight, obtained with chew the cud. We kept a low ease compared with the foot-slogprofile. Our binoculars brought the ging necessary to get close to the details of their antlers into focus, free-ranging reds of Exmoor. plonship 1979, 1st-3rd with 8/11. revealing that they were six or

was coming down in sheets. The As usual at this time of year they tened the thigh-high grasses. in olive-green, we could retreat time, they looked intently at us, almost albino in a few cases turning every now and then to their massed palmate antiers, and

. Spurred on, hearing hostelry is

2. Girl belittled is without mercy (8).

3. A gunamith will add it to his stock

4. Send St Martin the wrong way (8).

6. Scheme to get a pub erected in

15. New circle road led to the city of

Wine cartel re-organised (6).

the bay (7).

centre (11).

gold (2, 6).

16. Love of the past (3, 5).

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19. Desire clothing but not the ordi-INCOMSEQUENCE 22. Former diarist environmentally de-23. Four repeatedly out rustling (4-4). 24. Support by arms or threaten by 13. Moving example of crazy reason- 25. Prohibited sort of beard (7).

18. Expression of approval for record 20. Schoolboys' expression 21. Global outbreak of herpes (6),

PANE QYRIO SPUD A I O A H W R I RIGIO DEADALIVE 14. Showing off, so attention is divert-N A C Q E S
TWOPENNYWORTH
O A U M O O O 1
LIOENCE MAUDLIN
O O T R A N E B
SAMANKAND DUMBO